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HISTORY

OF THE

NAMES OF MEN, NATIONS, AND PLACES.

IN THEIR CONNECTION WITH

THE PROGRESS OF CIVILIZATION.

From the French of 'Eusebius Salverte.'

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TRANSLATED BY THE

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SALVERTE'S HISTORY

OF THE

NAMES OF MEN, NATIONS, AND PLACES.

SECTION LXVI.

ON THE NAMES OF DEITIES—THE SAME NAME IS GIVEN TO BOTH HEAVEN AND THE DEITY — MANY NAMES BEING GIVEN TO ONE DEITY, A SYSTEM OF POLYTHEISM IS INTRODUCED WHICH LEADS TO THE NOTION THAT THE DEITY OF ONE COUNTRY IS WORSHIPPED UNDER ANOTHER NAME IN ANOTHER COUNTRY.

Introduction to the study of the names of deities.

We have now reached the point where it will be necessary for me to examine the names of deities; and here what imposing memories at once crowd upon my thoughts. Not one title, perhaps, in that long catalogue of names but has, when heard, brought down entire nations to their knees. They represent to us those fantastic beings who, amongst our deluded ancestors, were either substituted by imposture, by ignorance, by fear, and by allegory for the great First Cause of all, or associated with it in power and influence; those deities are the sovereign masters by whose hands kings are governed, as the people are by the kings;* they are the arbiters in war

* Regum timendorum in proprios greges,
Reges in ipsos imperium est Jovis.
Horat. Od., lib. iii.; od. i., 5, 6.

or in acts of revenge, the dreaded guardians of compacts and laws, the judges of our actions, the scrutineers of our thoughts, the rulers of our sure destiny, and sometimes the too powerful accomplices of our passions and our crimes, if not the direct incentives to them; they are, in a word, the beings whom all men in all places and at all times have under various forms and various names either worshipped, feared, entreated, sought to appease, or endeavoured to persuade. But an account of the gods of all the nations, their history, their origin and the meaning of their names belongs properly to a history of the civilization of each particular nation. On so wide a subject we can only make a few observations which appear to be more immediately connected with the history of civilization in general.

The heavens are at once thought to be the residence of the deity.

First. Whilst man in his untutored state prays to the thunder that it will not strike him down with instant death, to the sun that it will ripen his fruits, to the spirit of the storm that it will not destroy them, to the gods of hunting and fishing that they will cause abundant prey to fall to the hunter's arrows and to be enclosed by his nets, the more enlightened man will raise his eyes above the earth. There he is struck by the awe-inspiring spectacle of the constant alternations of night and day; hence it is beyond the sun, beyond all those glistening orbs which are moved and guided by the great First Cause,—in a word, it is in the heavens that he places the dwelling-place of the deity, and the abode of eternal happiness which is promised to true piety and innocence of life.

The same name was given both to heaven and to the deity.

The condition, state, or quality, expressed by the words, *Heaven, boundless space, height,* or *excellence,* may also belong to the divinity; the name, therefore, will naturally be applied

sometimes to the one, sometimes to the other, in the various dialects which are derived from the same language. The name of the dwelling-place of Ormuzd, where the god is expecting his faithful followers, in Zend and in Parsee means *Very good* or *Excellent.** I am not surprised, then, to find that an almost synonymous word is used to designate the name of the deity in the idioms of four Caucasian tribes.† We may, doubtless, conclude, that a similar reason will account for the fact, that in three of the same tribes the name of heaven is expressed by a word very nearly allied to another which four other tribes use as the name of their divinity.‡

The Romans§ used to say that the Jews only worshipped the heavens: *Schamaim* in Hebrew is a name frequently given to God, and also means the heavens.‖

The heavens comprehend and include all created beings

* Veheschtem (in Zend); Behescht (in Parsee). Zend-Avesta, vol. i. 2nd part, pp. 79, 80.

† Bedtschet and Bedjet in the three first and in the fifth of the dialects of the Lesghis; Jules Klaproth, Asia Polyglotta (1 vol. 4to; see Atlas to the same, Paris, 1823). See also Historical and Geographical Account of Travels between the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea (4to, Paris, 1798), 1st part, p. 77.

‡ God, *Tzow . . . zo . . .* and *zob*, in the fourth of the Lesghi dialects; and *t'ha* and *an'tsha* in the two West-Caucasian dialects. Heaven, *sob* and *suw* in the first, third, and fifth of the Lesghi dialects; *za* and *zam* in the Georgian idiom. (Jules Klaproth, Asia Polyglotta.) According to the writer of the Historical and Geographical Account, &c., heaven in the three Georgian dialects is *Tsah* and *Tsash* (p. 81). God in the two Osseti dialects, *Tsa-oo* and *Khoo-tsa-oo* (p. 69). In the dialect of the Cabardians, *tha* and *t-ha* (p. 65), and in the two dialects of the Abkas, *an-tsha* (p. 63).

§ Nil præter nubes et *cœli* numen adorant.
Juvenal, Sat. xiv., v. 94.

‖ Gaffarel. Curiosités inouïes, p. 6, (Unheard-of Curiosities).

and all their movements; the name Cœlum was sometimes applied in this sense to Jupiter,* the soul of the universe, through whom all things move and have their being.

Even when the meaning of the word heaven does not immediately recall the idea of the divinity, custom may have assigned the same meaning to it in common conversation, although the persons using the expression do not intend to confound the everlasting palace with the Supreme Ruler who inhabits it. In our modern languages, we frequently express our wishes or our gratitude in terms which substitute heaven for God.†

There have been many and lengthy arguments as to whether the Chinese worship God or only heaven; the theory I have just laid down might possibly have led to a more speedy settlement of the dispute.

Many names given to the same deity.

Secondly. It was in vain that the God of the Hebrews, when He condescended to manifest Himself to one of His faithful followers, forbade enquiries as to His name;‡ it was in vain that a holy father of the Church declared that our feeble intelligence is no less incapable of naming God aright than of comprehending Him;§ it was in vain that an Eastern philosopher and a disciple of the Brahmins, had taught that there is no name in existence that can be given to the Mighty Ruler of the universe;‖ the wisely ordained reserve upon the

* Arati Phænom. fragment. Germanico Cæsare interprete. Post ver. 16.

† Would to *Heaven*; thank *Heaven*; a *Heaven*-sent visitation, &c.

‡ Judges, xiii. 17, 18.

§ Comprehendi omnino divinum illud non potest, neque nominari. (Joann. Damascen.: De fide, c. xiii.)

‖ Lao-Tsee, a rival and contemporary of Confucius. Philological Remarks on M. de Guignes' Voyages in China, pp. 69, 70.

point does not only offend man's intellectual pride and his restless curiosity, but it is also especially disappointing to the forward zeal of a fervent piety. Far from limiting itself to a single expression, so passionate a sentiment would gladly lavish on the object of its worship as many names as there are shades and degrees in its affection and in its transports of adoring love. Daily we see proofs of this in the naturally tender feelings that exist between parent and child, and in the more engrossing or rather tyrannical sentiment of human love. What, then, will it be where religion is concerned, (and here I purposely discard from my thoughts all those instances of blind infatuation which have so frequently attributed the raging and all-consuming passions of men to the divine nature),—what will it be, I repeat, where religion is concerned, which, in order to stir up and inflame the souls of men, summons to its aid all the most powerful influences, viz., those of love, fear, desire, hope, and gratitude? How necessary will it become to multiply words in order to describe with accuracy the various attributes of deity, and to express by each, thanks, prayers, adoration and praise. It was the feeling of such a want which being acknowledged and turned into a sacred channel by Christianity, directed that litanies should be said to the names of Jesus and the Virgin ; and in a similar spirit no sect has ever found fault with the pious Lavater for having addressed the One God, in his poem of the Apocalypse, by a thousand different names. The same feeling among the Hebrews was kept in check by the rigid severity of their faith, the stronghold, as it were, of their doctrine of the Divine Unity; and yet the interpreters of the Hebrew faith worshipped The Lord, The Most High, The Almighty, The Lord of Hosts, &c.

The Koran forbade the multitude of names which the idolatrous Arabs used to give to the Supreme Being; and yet the names of the deity still amount to a hundred* among the Mussulmans, who repeat them as they count their beads. The names of Ormuzd are not fewer in number; the Parsees are enjoined to recite them day and night in all places and at all times. The pious custom, they are taught, will shelter them from harm and danger.† There are many of the hymns in the liturgies of Zoroaster which either consist wholly of an enumeration and repetition of the attributes and surnames of Ormuzd, or which pay the same honour to the spirits appointed by himself to superintend the well-being of the world and the happiness of the disciples of *the pure law.*

Although the prayers of the most religious persons in Hindustan may sometimes be limited to the repetition of, or to constant meditation on, the mysterious word *oum*, or *ôm*, which (as they say) includes the whole of the divine essence, it will more generally be found that they are in the habit of pronouncing about a thousand names in a certain regular order, each of which names expresses some attribute of the deity.

Socrates of Cos‡ had collected together all the surnames of the Grecian gods in a book, which is now lost to us. We may form some estimate of their number from the single instance of Venus, who was called Polyonyma;§ a careful analysis of the subject by a French philosopher furnished

* D'Herbelot, Biblioth. Orient. Under the word "Esma."

† Zend-Avesta, vol. ii. pp. 145-149.

‡ Diogen. Laert. lib. ii. In Socrat., ad finem.

§ Theocrit. Idyll. xv., v. 105. Polyonyma, *i.e.*, Who hath many names.

materials for an entire volume.* The Greeks, also, had hymns which consisted merely of the names of the attributes of gods whom they were in the habit of celebrating; of this kind are the very ancient hymns which are attributed to Orpheus.

We know but little of the forms of worship which obtained among the Druids; but we may fairly infer that similar hymns were not unknown to them when we read the funeral chant sung by the bards over the grave of Cuthullin,† in which each strophe ends with an epithet or a title suited to the hero it commemorates.

Various emblems or symbols will originate new names of deities.

Thirdly. Better than fleeting words, an emblem will remind a worshipper of some attribute of the deity. Now religious zeal, wealth, or self-interest will cause the sacred symbol to vary; each symbol will give rise to a new name, and hence, as a natural consequence, to a new god, first, in the eyes of travellers who are strangers to the national creed, and secondly, in the thoughts of the multitude, who are almost everywhere ignorant of the first elementary principles of their religious belief. The confusions and contradictions which abound so plentifully in Hindu mythology may be clearly traced, I think, to this origin.

Further, I think I shall be justified in applying the last observations to the mythologies of the ancient nations of Europe. In Germany you may find various traces of peculiar forms of worship, and so many in number, that they contrast strangely with what is known of the simplicity of the religious

* Larcher. Memoirs on the subject of Venus. (Paris, 1775, 12mo, p. 355.)

† Ossian's Poems. Death of Cuthullin.

creeds of the ancient Germans. The learned writer,* from whom we have borrowed the above remarks, gives us the history of an idol-god whose name is only the expression of one of his physical attributes, and consequently which may also be the representation of a deity known by some other name. The god in question used to deliver his oracles in the country through which the Weser flows. The figure was made of metal, was hollow, and no doubt owed its safe preservation to the facilities which it afforded to the monks for working their pious frauds. It represented "a young man in anger." The image was first filled with water, then well heated; the steam, which had long been pent up, succeeded at last in forcing out a plug with which the mouth of the idol had been stopped. Then the god sent forth volumes of hot burning steam upon his affrighted votaries, and from the midst of the cloud the oracle was uttered. *Mighty, terrible in the blast of the breath of his displeasure,* Buster, Busthard, Busterich,† are the names of the idol, which are still retained by tradition.

Many names for the same deity favoured the introduction of Polytheism.

Fourthly. Multiplicity of names was not the first cause of Polytheism, but it contributed materially to its spread. To stand with a firm footing on the steep declivities of superstition, and not to see different deities in the various names of the same divinity, requires more reasoning power than is common to most men. Even amongst Christians are there not some who are guilty of superstitious adoration and of attributing sundry miraculous powers to an image, thus

* Jac. Tollii. Epistolæ Itinerariæ, &c., pp. 34, 35.

† *Pusten, Punsten,* a verb neuter, used commonly in the Swiss dialects to mean breathing hard and distorting his face like that of a man in anger. The Danes say *Punste;* the Swedes, *Pusta.*

making it (by the very worship they offer) a separate being, a special deity, which they are unwilling any longer to recognize in entirely similar representations of the same inhabitant of the heavens.

If the Christian faith, with all its purity, was unable to prevent the introduction of such errors, they were sure to become rife amidst the licentious teaching of Paganism. After carefully discriminating between the epithets given to the gods by the poets and the surnames that had been consecrated by the sanction of religion, Jablownski* remarks that in the latter case a temple was almost always erected in conjunction with the name. The feeling, moreover, which gave rise to so many local divinities, viz., the personal affection which leads a man to consider everything around him as his own property, even his god, secured a distinct and special reverence for the temple of that god, and afterwards for the surname to which the temple was dedicated. In every temple the interest and pride of the priests induced them to require that the deity should be worshipped by the particular name to which the temple was dedicated; this was surely the same as acknowledging a separate deity. Tyndareus forgets to offer sacrifices to Venus "Epiodoros" (Ἠπιόδωρος); the goddess "*whose gifts are soothing*" avenges herself by perverting the hearts of the daughters of Tyndareus; the adulterous loves of Clytemnestra, the Trojan war and all its disasters, the murder of Agamemnon, the parricide of Orestes, were all the results of forgetfulness of an act of worship due to a surname which seemed to promise a more kindly deity.

From instances so fearful, a dread of committing a sacri-

* Jablownski. Pantheon Ægyptiorum, lib. iii., c. v., § 2.

legious, though involuntary, mistake was sure to arise; this manifests itself to us in the forms of invocation handed down to us from antiquity. Several names, supposed to be propitiatory, are addressed to a deity, who is then left to choose between them;* it is not even stated whether the deity addressed be god or goddess.†

Results of a multiplicity of names of deities in foreign countries.

A similar feeling forbade any questioning as to the existence of another nation's deities. Athens raised an altar to the unknown and strange gods.‡ The Romans used to offer their prayers to the tutelary deities of an enemy's territory, entreating them to abandon the country, and promising to become their votaries after they had gained the victory, and to pay them worship and honour.§

Both Greeks and Romans were disposed to recognize in the deities of all other countries the gods whom they worshipped themselves; hence it seemed as though a foreign mode of worship only was addressed to one of their own divinities. There was considerable policy manifested in this, for it was "by adopting the gods of all the nations that they deserved to reign over all the nations;"‖ an eminently humane and peaceable opinion, which naturally put all persecution out of the question. Notwithstanding the old law which forbade the worship of strange gods, Rome never abandoned the principle of toleration, except when the religious tenets of the

* Horat. Carm. Sæcul., v. 15, 16.

† Sive Deo sive Deæ. Gruter, Corpus Inscript., p. i., inscript. 4.

‡ Pausanias, lib. i. c. i. See also the Commentary of St. Jerome on the Epistle of St. Paul to Titus, ch. i.

§ See the form of a similar invocation in the works of Macrobius (Saturnal. lib. iii., c. ix.)

‖ Dum universarum gentium sacra suscipiunt, etiam regnare meruerunt. M. Minucius Felix. (In Octav.)

worshippers tended to withdraw them from the jurisdiction of the Roman laws, or when an attack was made upon public morals under the cloak of mysterious ceremonies. At the first onset, Christianity was subjected to both imputations. The first was well founded; the second was utterly groundless; but to explain how plausible it must have appeared to the executive of the government at that time, we need only recall to mind what abominations the orthodox believers, the Gnostics, the Manichæans, and several other heretical sects were accused of. These, no doubt, did not fail to recriminate, and the polytheists thought they were right in bringing an imputation against the Christians in general, which, being raised by all the sects in turn, was probably never justifiable, except in a few most exceptional cases.

SECTION LXVII.

BELIEF IN ONE GOD ONLY, WORSHIPPED BY ALL MEN UNDER DIFFERENT NAMES AND UNDER DIFFERENT EMBLEMS.

THE religious principle which made the Greeks and Romans so tolerant became more extensive in its influence over a people who had, nevertheless, universally rejected all objects of worship foreign to their own. The Hindus, who believe that the Deity has manifested itself frequently and in various parts of the world to restore its creatures to the paths of rectitude and to the ways of salvation, are of opinion that all nations, as a matter of fact, worship the same God, though, perhaps, under different names and in different forms; that all modes of wor-

Belief in one God, worshipped under different names and symbols, and various shades of the same belief.

ship are acceptable to the Deity, provided they be marked by sincerity, and that the variety of these modes is as pleasing as the variety of the creatures with which the Deity has peopled the world.*

The same doctrine may be traced in all those nations, the religions of which are derived from the same sources as the Indian religion; and it is through it that the King of Siam yielded to the entreaties and arguments of the missionaries who urged him to embrace Christianity.†

To those nations who are incapable of understanding the mysteries of Lamaism, the supreme God, Dscha-Dscha Mouni, has imparted less complicated systems of religion, better adapted to their feeble intelligences; such as the doctrines professed by the Kalmük Tartars,‡ doctrines which inculcate the widest possible toleration.

The Chinese.

From a similar source is the notion of the Chinese derived, viz., that all religions are good;§ a notion which gained free admission for the Roman Catholic priests, until their restless ambition led to their expulsion from the empire.

In Asia, a belief in one God only, whose various manifestations have produced the various religions of the world, may be traced back to periods of the remotest antiquity. It is the groundwork of several forms of worship which emanate from one another, and which all co-exist in a state of peace and harmony, owing to the opinion generally entertained that

* Journal of a Route across India, through Egypt, &c. By Lieut. Col. Fitzclarence (London, 1819, 4to).

† Father Tachard. First Voyage to Siam (4to, Paris, 1686), pp. 309, 310.

‡ Nouvelles Annales des Voyages, vol xii., p. 296.

§ The Chouking, &c. By Father Gaubil and De Guignes (4to, Paris, 1770), p. 414.

each form of worship originated in a separate manifestation of the Deity.

Buddha in Tibet, Gautama or Sommona-Codom among the Burmese, Vishn'u the Second Person in the Triad of the Hindus, are also worshipped under the names of Ram and Krishn'a, and under the name of Fo, in China. It is not long since a learned Brahmin wrote a book to prove that Jesus Christ and Mahomet were incarnations of Vishn'u.*

Zoroaster and his disciples.

Zoroaster, who taught an essentially exclusive creed, and who, to vie with the priests of India, represented them as evil magicians and their gods as the wicked spirits that preside over sin and crime, was not likely to adopt the doctrines of his adversaries; but it was not in his power to prevent his followers from always refusing to embrace some of their tenets. He himself, according to the then established custom, was pointed out to the Greeks† by the Persians, as the son of Oromazes, or Ormuzd; and the Armenians, by a slight alteration of the name, gave him a title which meant‡ "Boundless Age," which he himself styles the First Principle, the God-creator of Ahriman and Ormuzd.

Her the Pamphylian, who rose again twelve days after his death, and related what the gods had taught him during

* Journal of a Route, &c. By Lieut.-Col. Fitzclarence.

† Zoroastres filius Oromasis. Plato, in I. Alcibiade.

‡ Zerovan is the same word as Zerouan, by which Theodorus of Mopsuestia (apud Photium, Bibliothec., cod. lxxxi.), means the Universal Principle; which, according to the legislator of the Persians, is the same as Τύχη (*fortune*, *chance*, or more accurately *fate*), and which created the two principles, Ormuzd and Satan (Ahriman). Zarouan is the Zend word Zroûâ-nemtchè, *time*. (Zend-Avesta, vol. ii. p. 446). Now, in the law of Zoroaster, it is distinctly stated that Boundless Age created Ormuzd and Ahriman. Zend-Avesta, ibid., pp. 343, 344, note i.

his sojourn in Hell,* was supposed to be the same as Zoroaster, whose principal doctrines were reproduced in Her's revelations. St. Clement of Alexandria, who seeks to establish the identity of the two, notices the similarity that exists between the number of days which it took Her to go over the infernal regions, and the number of the labours of Hercules, and of the signs of the zodiac;† but he merely gives us a mystic interpretation of the matter. We, who know that the twelve labours of Hercules are nothing more than the annual course of the sun through the twelve signs of the zodiac, may fairly infer that the inventor of the vision of Her-Zoroaster meant to identify the prophet with the Sun-god.

A similar attempt was again made by Manes, a son or a disciple of Buddha, but educated in Persia, in the midst of the professors of the religion of Zoroaster, from which he borrowed his own principles of good and evil. Manes intended (in addition to the doctrine which was common to all the Sun worshippers) to introduce into that religion as well as into Christianity, the doctrine of the Divine Unity, such as it was professed by the Lamas and the Brahmins; consequently he announced that Buddha, Zoroaster, Christ, and he himself were different incarnations of the divinity of the Sun.‡ Out of the pale of Christianity he found an adversary in Aristocrites, who, while he combated his vain and foolish pretensions, endeavoured, notwithstanding, to prove that the reli-

* Plato de Republ., lib. x. Macrob. in Somn. Scipion., lib. i., c. i.—See hereafter, Note B, §. 2 in the Appendix.

† St. Clement Alex., Stromat., lib. v.

‡ Suidas, under the word "Manes." Formula Receptionis Manichaeorum in Tollii insig. Itiner. Italici, p. 135. Execror eos qui Zaradam et Budam et Christum et Manichaeum et solem unum eundemque esse statuunt.

gions of the Greeks, the Hebrews, and the Christians were in reality but one and the same form of doctrine.*

On the form which the belief assumed in Europe.

Without going into the question, whether the religions of India ever crossed the boundaries of Asia and penetrated into Europe, it will be sufficient to remember that in many nations of the West, the basis of all religion, at least for the initiated and the philosophers, was a belief in one God, the Life of the World, the Universal Principle, whose various attributes constituted the various divinities of the popular and ignorant mind, and of whom the sun was at once the emblem and the visible form. Macrobius proved that beneath a transparent veil of allegory we may recognize the Sun-god in all the principal deities of Polytheism; he might have found another proof of his argument in the second rank of deities. Vertumnus, borrowed by the Romans from ancient Etruria, combined all the deities in himself, and so truly, that he had but to array himself in the attributes of one of them to represent its character fully.† Endowed with the secret of varying his forms indefinitely, he was looked upon as the emblem of the year, on account of the changes he could undergo; he presided over human thoughts and the transitory course of events. Pomona, whom he loved tenderly, and whom, like himself, he restored to youth when old age began to enfold her in its icy arms,—Pomona, the Goddess of Fruits among the Etruscans, was the same as Nortia, the Fruitful Earth, surnamed, like Cybele, the Great Goddess; Fortune, or rather

* Formula Receptionis, &c., p. 143. Quae ab Aristocrito conscripta est theosophia; in quâ demonstrare conatur Judaeorum religionem et Græcorum et Christianorum unam eandemque doctrinam esse.

† See the Second Elegy of the fourth book of Propertius, and the Commentary of Annius of Viterbo, upon that Elegy. See also Noël's Dictionnaire de la Fable, art. "Vertumne."

Fate, the Heavenly Virgin holding a child in her arms,* in a word, the symbol of nature, the heavenly bride of the God-Sun, the soul or life of the world. Pan, whom the Greeks ignorantly transformed into a wild demi-god, but who in Arcadia (where he had delivered his oracles in olden times) had witnessed the burning of the sacred fire before his statue† to the very last days of Polytheism,—Pan,‡ with his pipe of seven reeds, his two horns, and spotted skin, indicated the seven planets, the sun and the moon, and the star-spangled vault of heaven; Pan, consistently with his name, was the Great All, the God-Universe, and by reason of that title received the pompous invocations of Orpheus.§ Who was that Vertumnus amongst the Etruscans, who in the Roman mythology was reduced to the low position of Protector of

* Noël. Dictionnaire de la Fable. Under the words "Pomone" and "Nortia." The worship of the Heavenly Virgin was one of the characteristics of Sabaism, or worship of the Sun, the Life of the World.

† Pausanias. Arcad., c. xxxvii.

‡ Pan, id est natura omnium rerum, per cornua solem significat et lunam, per fistulam septem planetas stellas; per pellem maculosam cœli sidera, &c. Junius Philargyrius, in Virgil. Eclog. ii., v. 32. See also Isidor. Hispal., lib. viii., c. 11, and the Hymn to Pan amongst the hymns attributed to Orpheus.

§ Picus, one of the native gods worshipped at Rome, had a spotted skin like that of Pan; the story was, that the spots were the result of the poison administered to him by his wife Circe.

. . . . . Maculoso et corpore Picus
Conjugis epotum sparsus per membra venenum.
(Prudentius in Symmach., lib. i. De Simul. Romæ.)

Circe, the daughter of the Sun, and according to others the daughter of Day and Night, has often been mistaken for Isis, or Deified Nature. It is most likely, then, that Picus, her husband, represented in ancient Italy (as Pan did in Ancient Greece) the God-Universe. Like Pan, he lost the divine nature, and to explain the origin of the spots that covered his body, the fable of the poison was invented. At a later period a wrong translation of his name led to the idea that, after drinking the cup given him by Circe, he was changed into a woodpecker.

their gardens? The Universal Deity, of whom all other deities were only partial manifestations.

The same thought which in Asia, as well as in Europe, had originated the notion of one universal deity, was not supplanted by the many various doctrines of Polytheism; monumental inscriptions may be found piously addressed to all the deities joined in one, namely, to the Panthean God.*

Use made of the belief by Christians.

Some of the old Fathers in the Church were not slow to make use of an idea which was so well calculated to disarm their persecutors, and to prepare their minds for instruction in Christianity. After showing the similarity that existed between the opinions of the philosophers and the belief in one God, St. Clement of Alexandria goes on to say, that our thoughts revert naturally to the true God when we bring to mind the attributes assigned to Jupiter by writers both of poetry and prose.† In the constant habit of invoking God as practised by the Polytheists, and of taking God to witness, Minucius Felix traces a profession of Christian faith rather than a common colloquial form of expression. "And those," he says, "who attribute the empire of the universe to Jupiter *err but in name;* they agree with us in believing that there is but one Almighty."‡

When Minucius and St. Clement wrote thus, Polytheism still occupied the throne.

When the Christians reigned in their turn, Symmachus,§

* Deo Pantheo. Gruter, Corpus Inscriptionum, p. i., inscript. 5.

† St. Clement. Alex., Stromat., lib. 5.

‡ Et qui Jovem principem volunt falluntur in nomine sed de unâ potestate consentiunt. Minucius Felix. (Octav.)

§ In the year A.D. 383, Symmachi Epistol., lib. i., epist. xl. N.B. In the editions where the Epistles of Symmachus are divided into ten books this is epist. liv. of Book x.

who was forced to contend against their zeal for the liberties of the ancient religion, and for the national altar of Victory, wrote as follows to the Emperors of the East and the West: "It is only reasonable that we should look upon all the objects of worship scattered over the world as manifestations of the same Deity." A century after Symmachus, Proclus, a disciple of Plato, used religiously to celebrate the principal festivals of all modes of worship, praising in his hymns the gods of Greece, Syria, and Arabia, and declaring openly that the true philosopher, far from attaching himself to the form of worship peculiar to any town or people, should be a priest of the religions of the whole world.*

Later, again, Theodatus wrote the following words to the Emperor Justinian, words that are all the more remarkable because the pious Cassiodorus was at that time interpreter at the court of the King of the Goths: "We dare not insist upon one form of worship only, when God Himself has permitted the existence of many religions."† How wide the difference between the above and the prevailing opinion of our own day, viz., that the true God is intolerant, and that His followers must be so also, an opinion which sanctions those feelings of enmity which are naturally engendered towards the remainder of the human race, by the exclusive worship of some local divinity; and, further, an opinion which justifies the armed preachings of the Mussulmans, and every kind of persecution and religious atrocity. Every man believes his own to be the true God. The man, if not the theologian, may surely be pardoned if he express, as I do now, his sincere regret that the doctrines of Theodatus, Symmachus, and the Hindus, have not at all times existed in the world.

* Marini Proclus, sec. 21. † Cassiodor. Varior., lib. x., epist. xxvi.

SECTION LXVIII.

OBSERVATIONS TENDING TO PROVE THAT THE SAME DEITY HAS BEEN WORSHIPPED AT DIFFERENT TIMES AND IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES.

The object of the present enquiry explained.

THE Greeks may be excused for having substituted Io, the daughter of their King Inachus, for the ancient Isis; and they may be further excused for having changed the name Astarte into Astroarche,* the Queen of the Stars, which they would do all the more readily because the name recalled the legend of the Syrian divinity. Nor shall we find fault with the Romans for having taken their worship of Pluto and Mercury from the Gauls and the Teutonic nations; with Virgil, for having (in order to enhance the interest of his poem) substituted Juno for the heavenly Virgin worshipped by the Carthaginians as she had been already worshipped in earlier days by the Phœnicians, their ancestors. But we cannot omit to notice a similar confusion of names in modern writers, when they tell us that Jupiter was an object of adoration in Assyria, when they surname Crishn'a, the Apollo of the Hindus, or when they use the figurative expression, the Neptune of the Chinese. If a Chinese writer, slightly acquainted with the tenets of the Christian religion and the Siamese mode of worship, were to speak of the Sommonacodom of the Europeans, he would be indignantly laughed at for the absurdity.

Jupiter, Mercury, and Neptune were gods who had a real

* Larcher. Notes on Venus, p. 20.

existence for those who worshipped them, and were, moreover, recognized in the imagination of their followers, even by the most equivocal signs. To us, these names only represent a number of fantastic creations of the mind; how, then, can we identify with them other equally imaginary creations of superstition known by different names and belonging to different countries?

Its use.

The enquiry is by no means an unprofitable one; the identity of two divinities clearly proves that, notwithstanding distance of time and place, some degree of communication must have taken place between the nations who worshipped the one or the other; and such communications form an important feature in the history of the progress of civilization. They come before us as monuments of the past, far older than the period of written history, as the last traces that supply the missing links in our annals, and throw a light upon the darker myths of tradition. The Abyssinians boast that they have always observed the law of Moses from the days of their first king, the son of Solomon, down to the time of their conversion to Christianity. The Falashas, a tribe who retained the ancient beliefs, bear testimony to the untainted purity of their fellow-countrymen's faith until the period named, but speak of their conversion as an apostasy. Both accounts are untrue. The gods of Greece had penetrated into Abyssinia, and for a century, at least, idolatry had sat upon the throne of the Lion of Judah. The inscription at Axum, described by Mr. Salt,* and the second inscription at

Instance furnished by the inscriptions at Adulis.

* Salt, First Voyage to Abyssinia, vol. iii., pp. 84, 98, and 225-263; Salt, Second Voyage to Abyssinia, vol. ii., pp. 184-193, and 397, 398. Annales des Voyages, vol. xiii., pp. 330-355. The inscription at Axum records the victories of Aeizanas, King of the Axomites. Mr. Salt

Adulis, so ably proved to be totally distinct from the first* by the same traveller, gives the title of Sons of Mars to the Axomite kings; the one speaks of five statues raised to the

thinks it is the same prince who, with all his subjects, embraced Christianity. He refers the date of the inscription to A.D. 330.

* In the sixth century, the monk Cosmas-Indicopleustes happening to be at Adulis, copied several lines of Greek characters which he found engraved on a basaltic slab and another apparently connected with it (ὡς ἐξ ἀκολυθίας) upon a seat of white marble. So long as it was understood to be a single inscription, there were insurmountable difficulties in its interpretation. Salt conjectured that Cosmas had copied the two inscriptions as one. The one engraved on the basaltic slab enumerates the victories of Ptolemy Euergetes, who, no doubt, ordered it to be placed at Adulis, for he was never there himself. The other, which was engraved on a chair of white marble, contained an account of the victories of an Axomite king whose name we do not know, for the commencement of the inscription is wanting; but, as Salt very justly remarks, it cannot possibly be Ptolemy Euergetes.

Salt thought at first that this inscription might refer to the same prince as the inscription at Axum; but after a careful examination of Sylvestre de Sacy's observations, he abandoned the notion, and attributed the second Adulite inscription to Elasgaga, whose reign lasted from 172 to 248—a century, therefore, may have elapsed between the erection of the two monuments.

My own idea is that the monument at Adulis is much older. The Axomite king says in the inscription, that he came to Adulis and there consecrated the marble chair to Mars. In that case, he must have seen the inscription of Ptolemy Euergetes, if it was already in existence, and not only must he have allowed it to remain, but he must also have placed his own sacred monument *under* it; to all appearance, the continuation of an inscription recording the fact, that from the shores of Alexandria the power of the Greek sovereigns extended beyond the capital of Abyssinia. So much indifference to his country's glory, so much humility on the part of a king and a victorious warrior are difficult to imagine. If, on the contrary, the inscription of Ptolemy Euergetes be the more recent one, it is only natural that the servants of the Grecian monarch should have manifested a desire to enhance their master's glory by placing his monument above one raised by a native sovereign, and that they should have intentionally defaced the beginning of the Axomite inscription, so that it might only seem to be a continuation of the inscription of Ptolemy.

god Mars, the other of sacrifices offered to Mars, Jupiter, and Neptune.

Here, however, there arises a difficulty, not as to the idolatry of the Axomite kings, but as to the true objects of their worship. Did they really worship Mars, Neptune, and Jupiter? Faithful to their country's customs, the artists of Greece may have imagined they could trace a similarity between three of their own national deities and the God of Hosts, the God who rules over the waves of the sea, and the Supreme Good, the Most High, the Almighty. The title assumed by the Axomite princes is open to the same objection, Sons of God; such an expression would at once recall to a Greek's mind the loves of a god with some nymph or princess. In the East the name, Son of God, meant some one who was protected, inspired, and guided by the deity as a son is guided by his father. The artists of Greece may probably have mistaken the pious sentiments of the Ethiopian kings for a boastful pretension, whereas the title of Son of the God of Hosts was only assumed to show that they attributed all the honour of their victories to His special favour.

The stone on which the Greek inscription is engraved contains another in the Ethiopian language, which is probably the translation of the former; whenever it is deciphered we shall know whether the names of the Greek deities are to be found in it, or whether they are replaced by the names of Eastern gods; the problem would then be partially solved.

But the general question remains; and wherever we have only monuments and accounts of Greeks and Romans to rely upon for our inferences, the matter will become more complicated, owing to their thoughtless desire to translate the names of most of the gods of foreign countries by the names

of their own gods. How, then, shall we be able to identify deities worshipped in different ages and in countries far remote from each other?

The mode of worship offered to the same emblems, and to the same visible objects; similarity in mythological accounts and in the names of the deities, will, I think, furnish us with the characteristic distinctions we require.

SECTION LXIX.

IDENTITY IS NOT ALWAYS SUFFICIENTLY PROVED BY THE WORSHIP OF THE SAME VISIBLE OBJECTS, OR BY THE SIMILARITY OF MYTHOLOGICAL ACCOUNTS.

FIRST. The forms under which the gods Toranga, Canon, Tiedebaik, and the Creator-God are represented in Japan, with very slight differences, remind us of the forms of the first, third, fourth, and eighth Avatâras, or incarnations of the Hindu god Vishn'u.*

In this case the identity is certain; for we know that the religion of Japan is derived from the worship of Vishn'u. But could we assert that identity positively without the aid of history? In all religions founded upon the common basis of astronomy, the same phenomena may have led to the in-

* The order of the Avatâras of Vishn'u vary in the accounts of different travellers. I have followed the one given by Kircher in his Chine Illustrée. The Avatâras alluded to may be found in Pl. viii., figs. 1, 3, 4, 8, and Pl. vi., fig. 2; Pl. v., figs. 1, 3, and 2 of vol. vi. of Cérémonies et Coutumes Religieuses. (12 vols., folio, Paris, 1807-1810). Figures of the Japanese Gods in Pl. xvii., fig. 1; Pl. xvi., fig. 2; Pl. xv., fig. 1; Pl. xviii., fig. 1, of vol. vii. See Note C in the Appendix.

vention of similar emblems, and consequently may have produced more or less similar images of deities, without our being able to infer from that, that there had been any communication between the nations where the several religions were professed. Brahma among the Hindus, Janus in Italy and in some of the Roman colonies,* and Sviatovid the god of the Sclaves,† were each represented with four faces. The idol dedicated by Manasseh,‡ the son of Hezekiah, in the temple at Jerusalem, was similarly formed. They are all emblems of the sun and the four seasons of the year, or the four cardinal points; emblems so obvious in their nature, that they may everywhere have had a simultaneous origin, and need not have been transmitted from one country to another.

Identity of worship does not prove identity of deities.

Secondly. Inferences drawn from the worship of similar visible objects are not conclusive.

All the nations by whom the year has been divided into weeks have dedicated one day to each of the planets, or rather to the god or spirit of that planet. We cannot deny the idolatrous origin of the names of days, as they are still retained in all the languages of Europe; nor can we, with any justice, blame the Quakers, who have long refused to use them, on the ground that they would retain nothing that savoured of the old false religions.§ Not only are the days everywhere

* Amongst the ruins of some ancient monuments that still remain at Vaison, there are several instances of statues of Janus Quadrifrons. Gasparin. Notes sur les Monuments de la Ville de Vaison. Notice sur les Travaux de l'Académie du Gard, de 1812 à 1822. Two parts, 8vo. Nîmes, 1822. First part, p. 365.

† Lévêque. History of Russia, vol. i., p. 63.

‡ Suidas. See art. "Manasses."

§ Observations on the origin of the Society of Quakers. By Antoine Bénezet. (12mo, London, 1817), p. 16.

dedicated to the planets, but their order with respect to the planets is everywhere the same. This is too remarkable an instance of identity to allow of its being attributed to chance. The ancient nations, whose customs we have inherited, had accordingly received certain communications as their first principles in science, the traces of which still exist, although no record of them can be found in history.

The transmission of religious doctrine, however, is none the clearer for this. Even among the Greeks several of the planets were dedicated to various deities: Hercules and Mars shared one, Apollo and Mercury another, Venus and Juno a third.* In the same country the same day has not always borne the same name; the one which is dedicated to the planet Mars, and which is called the day of Tuisco or Tues, Tuesday, in the idioms derived from the Saxon is also called Erichtag in some of the cantons of Germany.†

But, further, even admitting that in Hindustan a planet had been consecrated to Buddha, or to Ἑρμῆς, that is Mercury, among the Greeks and Romans, can we from this fact conclude that the divinities were the same, and that they merely passed from the temples of one nation into those of another? Thor, the god of the Scandinavians, presides, like Jupiter, over the fourth day of the week; like Jupiter, he hurls his bolts; but the rest of his history does not at all identify him with the Supreme God worshipped at Olympia, and richly laden in the Capitol with the spoils of the world.

* Apuleius (De dogmate Platonis) gives the planets names which differ entirely from the names of the Greek deities.

† Cluvier. Antiq. Geograph., cap. xxviii.; Ottius, De nominibus, &c., under the word "Ericus."

Granted, that the older nations have derived their notions of the first principles of astronomy, or of astrology, if the term be preferred, from the same sources. These principles furnished their several mythologies with points of similarity as regards a planet, a star, or a deified constellation. All, then, that we can say is this, that the same heavenly body, but not the same god, has been worshipped under different names and in different countries.

Similarity of history a surer criterion.

Thirdly. Similarity in mythological accounts, when not explained by astronomy, is somewhat more conclusive; and yet, even here, we must guard against the natural results of the figurative style which was so constantly employed by the ancients, and which must sometimes have produced an apparent similarity between characters who might be either real or imaginary.

If the observer be careful on this point, a point which has not always been duly attended to, he will be able to trace out the various transformations deities have undergone, as one nation has entered into communication with another.

If we compare Rome with Greece, we may safely say that towards the close of the commonwealth, the difference between Saturn and Χρόνος, Jupiter and Ζεύς, Juno and Ἥρα, Mercury and Ἑρμῆς, Vulcan and Ἥφαιστος, Neptune and Ποσειδῶν, Mars and Ἄρης, Minerva and Ἀθήνη, Diana and Ἄρτεμις, Venus and Ἀφροδίτη, was merely a difference in names. Some centuries earlier, however, the gods of Rome had been purely national gods.

A single instance will explain the transformation they underwent. Varro* says that Venus was not known in Rome before the expulsion of the kings, and probably not until the

* Macrob. Saturnal. lib. i., c. xii.

Romans had penetrated into Greece.* And yet Ovid mentions Venus as being in the Capitol when the Sabines entered it under the command of Tatius.† Pliny‡ speaks of an old altar dedicated to Venus Myrtea, which must have been the same as the one dedicated to a goddess described by Ovid as watching over the safety of the Romans, for it was with myrtle branches and in honour of Venus Myrtea, who presided over marriages, that the two rival nations were about to cement their indissoluble friendship. Thana Lartia, the Queen of the Earth, who was worshipped by the Etruscans, presided over the reproduction of all creatures. It was this deity who, hallowing the hymen of Hersilia and her companions, reconciled their fathers and husbands in tranquillized Rome. The never-failing influence which draws one portion of the creation towards the other arrayed the deity, who is its emblem, with the most attractive attributes. The name of Venus, or the pre-eminently beautiful, took the place of the goddess' Etrurian name, when a more extended mythology, which commemorated the Ἀφροδίτη of the Greeks, was introduced into the rapidly increasing city. When the Romans became acquainted with the latter, they gradually identified her with their own Venus, as they had before identified Venus with the goddess who presided at hymeneal festivals; and they failed to perceive the addition they had made to the history of their religion. In the foregoing remarks we have been guided by the light of history, which demonstrates clearly that there were intimate relations between the Greeks and Romans; had not the historical records been so clear,

* Larcher. Notes on Venus, p. 197.
† Ovid. Metamorph., lib. xiv., v. 783.
‡ Plin. Hist. Nat., lib. xv., c. xxix.

we dare not have spoken where they were silent, even if the mythological accounts of the two nations had agreed with each other.

SECTION LXX.

SIMILARITY IN NAMES IS MORE CONCLUSIVE — CONJECTURES WHICH SUCH SIMILARITY MAY SUPPORT WITH FAIR PROBABILITY, AS REGARDS RELIGIOUS COMMUNICATION BETWEEN NATIONS IN ANCIENT TIMES.

Identity of names affords a surer criterion still.

IDENTITY of names is a better ground of argument. No one will deny that the Romans received the worship of Isis and Mithras from Egypt and Asia, although, perhaps, their creed as regards those deities was not exactly similar in all points to the creed of the countries where their first altars were raised.

A monument was discovered near Toulouse dedicated to the god Heliougmoni.* Would it be absurd to connect that word Heliougmoni with the Greek name for the sun, Ἥλιος, and that of the god Ogmios, or Ogmion, who was wrongly surnamed by the Romans the Hercules of Gaul, and who seems to have represented the sun of the inferior constellations? This compound form may have been invented by some Gallo-Greek, who, led by the feeling of old associations to migrate from the far limits of Galatia to the land where the Tectosages, his ancestors, slept, was anxious to combine and to commemorate on some religious monument the name of the God of Day, common to both his old and his adopted country. Or, again, it might have been invented by

* Memoirs of the Celtic Academy, vol. i., pp. 386, 387.

some Greek who had been brought to the south of Gaul either by commercial enterprise, or by that military system* which, during the period of the empire entrusted the protection of a nation to soldiers levied in a foreign country; the union of two deities, the one being a native deity, the other a foreign one, was not unusual among the Greeks; thus they dedicated altars to Hermanubis, to Hermammon, to Hermharpocrates.

In an ancient sacred poem, still preserved among the Kalmük Tartars, we find that the Radiant Chootooctoo† reigned over the country of Schampala, to the north-east of Hindustan. The name of this pontiff-king, who shines on earth with the dazzling splendour of the divinity, reminds us of the Khootookhtus, who are said to be incarnations of the deity; they are the chief amongst the priests in Tibet‡ and in Mongolia, and are often invested with civil and political authority. The same pontiffs may be traced in the Tchookoos of the kingdom of Cambodia;§ the latter, like the priests of Tibet, are priests of Buddha, whom they surname Cha-kia.‖ The Chinese give the name Cha-kia to the Hindu priest who introduced the worship of Buddha into Japan, a thousand years before our era; he is worshipped there under the name of Che-kia-muni,¶ the same name probably as Dchaga-

* See § 87.

† Nouvelles Annales des Voyages, vol. xii., pp. 314, 315-318.

‡ Reuilly. Description du Thibet. (Paris, 1808, 8vo), pp. 25-55, &c.

§ Nouvelles Annales des Voyages, vol. iii., pp. 36 and 50.

‖ Ibid., vol. iii., p. 51.

¶ From information derived from the Encyclopédie Japonnaise, M. Abel Rémusat infers that Chakia-Muni was born B.C. 1029, and died B.C. 950. He was a Hindu, as were also his twenty-eight immediate successors. (Nouvelles Annales des Voyages, vol. viii., pp. 189-192.) The above mentioned fact places it beyond a doubt that the worship of

muni, or Dscha-dscha-muni, which the Kalmüks give to the Supreme Being. The similarity that exists between all these names, the last of which reminds us of the Shigimunic form of worship common amongst the Tartars and in Tibet, leaves no doubt as to a like similarity in the worship, in the deity, and in the title of its priests.

Many names of men and places in Cambodia are joined to the name Fo.* A Chinese traveller, five hundred years ago, observed that there were two kinds of worship there, that of Fo, and that of Buddha. I infer from this that Shigimunic doctrines were imported into Cambodia at two different periods, first by the Hindu priests, and then by the Bonzes, probably of Tartar origin, who both worshipped the same divinity, but who pronounced its name, and perhaps recited its mythology, in a different manner. In a precisely similar way was the same form of worship introduced into China† on two separate occasions, first by the Brahmins, whom the Chinese call Polamen, and secondly by some priests of Fo.

The same line of argument would probably help us to trace the religious origin of the Manchow or present ruling dynasty of China, and to discover, either in the Sanskrit or in the sacred language of Tibet, the interpretation of the name

Vishn'u-Buddha prevailed at first in Hindustan, and that the Hindu priest who introduced it into Japan pretended to be an incarnation of the deity, and assumed its name, power, and titles. The translator of Bogle's Account of Tibet (printed at the end of the Romance of Bryltophend, Paris, 1789, 8vo, p. 13) observes, on the authority of Father Gaubil, that certain authentic documents that were carefully preserved in Tibet prove that 1340 years before our era that country was already subject to the spiritual dominion of one of Buddha's pontiffs, and that the succession of pontiffs had been uninterrupted down to our own times.

* Nouvelles Annales des Voyages, vol. iii., pp. 11-97, passim.

† Zend-Avesta, vol. i., first part, p. 335.

Kioro, and the two surnames Poulkouri-Yongchou; the latter were borne by the "celestial child," the supposed original stock of the dynasty,* and both were an enigma to the Manchows and the Chinese.

In some of their mysterious ceremonies the Greek and Roman priests used to invoke the gods with names, the meaning of which had been lost. "Those names," says Jamblichus,† "mean something *among the gods*, although *we* do not understand them. And if amidst the great variety of names assigned to the Deity, we choose in preference those called barbarian or foreign, we do it because the gods have always shown great favour to the language of the sacred nations, deeming it the fittest for acts of religious worship." The passage just quoted proves what light might be thrown upon the origin of the religions of antiquity, if we only knew and could interpret all the sacred names, which more modern forms of worship must have borrowed from older religions and more ancient nations.

We shall not venture to take more than a single step in a path the extent of which is only equalled by its intricacy.

The zealous eagerness of Zoroaster to convert a learned and respected Brahmin to the then newly dawning faith, proves that the religion of the Brahmins was the religion of the people he came to instruct.‡ The conversion of one of their priests would be a great step towards the conversion of the people. Fruitless, however, were the attempts of the prophet of Ariema to transform the Dewatas adored in India

* Eulogy of Moukden, pp. 220-225. Poulkouri is the name of the lake on the shores of which the child Kioro was miraculously conceived and born. See § 80.

† Jamblichus. De Mysteriis, c. xxxviii. De nominibus divinis.

‡ See Note B. in Appendix, § 4.

into Dews or Spirits of Evil; fruitless were the prayers and good deeds of his followers, which day and night he used as weapons against the Brahmin deities; fruitless were his endeavours to prove that they were constantly suffering from the visitations inflicted by the deities of the Pure Law, and were ever exposed to the blows of Mithra's formidable club.* Whilst he sought to destroy the very last traces of the religion which his own was destined to supplant in all the countries that submitted to his laws, he left their names untouched; and these which seem the frailest, but which in reality are the most lasting of monuments, eluding his grasp and surviving the destruction of the creed to which they belonged, remained for ever a standing proof of the priority of that ancient faith.

Among the Parsees the name of each of the thirty days of the month refers to the spirit to which it is consecrated; the 21st is named Ram.† This is the name by which Vishn'u is most commonly worshipped in Hindustan.

The inference I am going to draw might seem to have little foundation in fact, but for the following circumstances.

"The first of the seven divine beings created in the beginning by Boundless Time," says Zoroaster, "is the Spirit of the Sun," Ormuzd in Zend, which is the sacred language,‡ and Anhouma§ in Pehlví. The faithful, *i. e.* the "worshippers of the deity,"‖ have no other name in that language but

* Zend-Avesta, vol. ii., pp. 12, 13.

† Zend-Avesta, vol. ii., p. 524.

‡ Ehorô mezdaô (Zend-Avesta, vol. ii., p. 435); Houèrè, sun. (Ibid. p. 464); Mazdè, Ormuzd-god (vol. i., part ii., p. 88).

§ Ibid., vol. ii., pp. 435, 476.

‖ Mazdièsnô or Mazdéïésnoesch, *i. e.* who worships the deity; the name of the worshippers of Ormuzd in Zend (Ibid. p. 453; vol. i., part ii., p. 88).

that of men who pray to Anhouma. The first day in each month, which is dedicated to Ormuzd, is in Pehlví, dedicated to Anhouma. And lastly, in the Boun-dehesch* Anhouma is the name of the largest planet—of the one, that is, which the Egyptians and the Greeks had dedicated to the sun-god of the greater signs, to Osiris and to Jupiter; and in the sacred language, Ormuzd† is the divine name which Ormuzd himself gave to the same planet.

Hence Zoroaster has allowed the name of one of the most important characters in the Hindu mythology to remain in his own religious code. Vishn'u, under the name of Ram, engages in battle with an almost invincible giant, and is opportunely aided by the ape-god Anhouma. After numerous exploits, Anhouma falls into the power of the giant, who is unsuccessful in his attempt to put him to death. The ape-god declares that before he can be deprived of his invincible strength and his immortality, his tail must be wrapped in thick folds of tow saturated with oil, which is then to be set on fire. The plan is adopted, and at once Anhouma sets fire to the palace and town and villages around. Without stopping to inquire how it is that the history of Samson is very similar to this fable in two material points, I will compare it with the explanation usually given of a festival celebrated from time immemorial at Carseoli, a town in Latium. Burning torches were fastened to foxes, who were then let

* Boun-dehesch, § 5, Zend-Avesta, vol. ii., p. 356.

† Ibid. note 2. "Ormuzd turned them into light, and gave them divine names, ... which are Kévan (Saturn), Ormuzd (Anhouma, Jupiter), ... Béhram (Mars), Sched (the Brilliant, the Sun), Anahid (Venus), Tir, (Mercury), Mâh (the Moon)." The reader may have observed already that the order in which the planets are named, is the same which seems to have regulated the naming of the days in the week.

loose, in memory of the fact, says Ovid,* that a child twelve years old once set fire to the crops, by setting a fox loose which had been covered with burning straw. Volney assigns this religious custom to a Phœnician origin, and recognises in it the symbol of the sun.† His explanation is supported by the mysterious number of the young incendiary's years, by the fable of Anhouma, and by his identity with Ormuzd or the sun.

The similarity alluded to is fruitful in results.

First. Like the Egyptians, Zoroaster divided the month into three decades, or decans, the first day of which, like the first day of our own week, was dedicated to the sun.

Various names and appearances by which the sun is represented.

The first day of the month is dedicated to Ormuzd, or Anhouma; the eleventh to Zabseba or Khorschid,‡ the Pehlví and Persian names for the sun. The twenty-first day is dedicated to Ram, to the spirit§ who, during one-half of the twelve thousand years the world is to last (a period of time especially confided to the care of Ormuzd), watches over the universe, and distributes pure and real pleasures amongst mortals; all these features are characteristic of the sun of the superior signs. Besides this, the titles of "revolution of the world," and "absorbed in excellence,"‖ are given by the Parsees, from a feeling of veneration, to the spirit of the twenty-first day, to the very Ram whose worship originated

* Ovid. Fast., lib. iv., vers. 681-712.

† Volney. Recherches Nouvelles, &c. Complete works. Vol. iv., pp. 41, 42.

‡ Zend-Avesta, vol. ii., pp. 523, 524, and p. 503.

§ Short Si-Rouzé, Ram day. Zend-Avesta, vol. ii., p. 321. See text, and note 2.

‖ Long Si-Rouzé, Ram day. Zend-Avesta, vol. ii., p. 331.

in Hindustan; he is the sun, the life of the universe, the eternal ruler of the ages.

Secondly. In the Hindu mythology, Vishn'u is also the sun, the life of the universe. The Avatâra, or incarnation in which he appeared under the name of Ram, is represented on a sculptured painting in the subterranean temples of Ellora. Anhouma is represented there as stopping the chariot of the sun, carrying away the god and transporting him to the camp of Ram.* It would be difficult to give a more forcible representation of the sun's ascent to his place amongst the higher signs, or the six thousand of Ormuzd, and of his re-entrance into the kingdom of Ram, who, according to Zoroaster, is the protector of the world during that period, and the god who showers his blessings upon it. This second case of similarity confirms the first, and leads us further to form an interesting conjecture. The Avatâras of Vishn'u were, in the first instance probably, pictures taken from the Zodiac, representing in each sign† the triumph of the sun over the malevolent spirits of darkness and winter; the Avatâra we have just mentioned seems to combine the opposite constellations of Sagittarius and Gemini, which are represented by Ram and his brother, that formidable archer who slew a thousand men with a single shot of his bow. And this is all the more probable, since the planet consecrated to Anhouma (Jupiter) has its astrological house in the constellation Sagittarius.

Thirdly. Among the Hindus of the present day, Anhouma is only a secondary deity; time has worked great changes

* Madwin. Notes on the subterranean temples of Ellora; Bibliothéque Universelle, Littérature, vol. xvi., pp. 350, 351.

† See note C in Appendix.

with him, and submitted him to a degradation like that of Pan and Vertumnus among the Greeks and Romans. But a magnificent temple erected to his memory in the city of Calicut bears witness to his ancient glories. Tradition relates that he was miraculously born, and prophesies that at the renewal of the world, and at the close of the age of Brahma, he will succeed that deity in the empire of the universe.* In the same way Dchaga-Muni, in the religion of the Kalmük Tartars, is at the close of his reign to be replaced by Maïdari.† So also the equinoctial sun, when it enters a constellation, was supposed to succeed the sun which, for a cycle of twenty-one centuries and a half, had been travelling through the preceding constellation.

Ape-worship amongst the Hindus connected with the worship of the sun.

Fourthly. The shelter afforded to apes in some of the Hindu temples, and the feeling of reverence with which they are looked upon as sacred beings,‡ are the result of the honours paid them in older times when they were the symbols of the sun. In Ceylon, where the giant slain by Anhouma is said to have reigned, an ape was worshipped, and a tooth of the ape-god was religiously preserved, which was afterwards solemnly burnt by the victorious Portuguese. The god of the Siamese, Sommonacodom and Thevatat his brother and rival, became incarnate in the form of apes. However the allegory may have originated which fixed upon the ape as the emblem of the sun, it may serve to explain the fact, that in the kingdom of Hiroumba or Katchar, where the Brahmin

* Amongst other authorities, see Noël, Dictionnaire de la Fable, art. "Hanumap, or Hanuman." The spelling of the ape-god's name varies frequently, but is always somewhat similar to the one we have adopted. W. Jones, in the Preface to Sacontala, writes it Hanumat.

† Nouvelles Annales des Voyages, vol. xii., p. 273.

‡ Turner. Embassy to Tibet, &c., vol. ii., pp. 226, 227.

has lately taken the place of the Buddhist faith, the national flag bears on it the figure of an ape;* it may explain also why the inhabitants of Tibet think themselves descended from a race of apes,† and believe that a priest, who was himself deemed to be an incarnation of the divinity, converted a number of apes to the worship of Buddha.‡

The same can be traced in Egypt.

Fifthly. The worship of apes in Egypt may be traced to the same source. Without alluding to those intercommunications in religious matters which took place between Egypt and Hindustan, and without attempting to show the identity of Sommonacodom and his brother, in the form of apes, with the constellation Gemini represented by two apes in an Egyptian planisphere,§ it will suffice here to remind my readers that the dog-headed ape (κυνοκέφαλος) was one of the emblems of Osiris—sun. The Osirites or Cynocephalia,‖ a plant used in magic incantations, recalled both the name of the god and of his emblem. The Egyptians used to relate what may seem strange to us, but to them conveyed no idea of coarseness, that at the two equinoxes the Cynocephalus emitted his fluid secretions twelve times during the day and twelve times during the night. This is the reason why the animal was chosen as the hieroglyphic of the equinoxes, and why the day

* Nouvelles Annales des Voyages, vol. xv., pp. 358, 362.

† Nouveau Dictionnaire d'Histoire Naturelle (2nd edition), vol. xv., pp. 22, 23.

‡ Nouvelles Annales des Voyages, vol. xiii., pp. 420, 421.

§ Bailly. Histoire de l'Astronomie Ancienne, Pl. i., fig. 2. Kircher. Œdip. Ægypt., vol. ii., part 2.

‖ Plin. Hist. Nat., lib. xxx. c. 2. The same plant is also called the Tomb of Osiris (Ὀσιριδος ταφή) by Apuleius (Apolog., c. lxxxvi.) On the connection between the tomb of Osiris and the Equinoxes, see Dupuis. Origine de tous les Cultes, vol. ii., pp. 553—557. (8vo.)

was divided into twenty-four hours.* When divested of its figurative style, the sentence means, that the figure of the Cynocephalus, the emblem of the equinoctial sun, contained a Clepsydra or water-clock, the water of which being regularly and periodically emitted, marked the advancing progress of the twenty-fours of the day. Horus Apollo tells us that the Egyptian Clepsydra was in the shape of an ape seated, and as I have further described him above.†

What a number of similar allegories there are, which having been collected together and misinterpreted and re-echoed in the fabulous explanations given by the priests in answer to the inquiries of popular curiosity, were afterwards admitted as facts in natural history, though common every-day experience would most surely contradict them. On the authority of Mucianus, who is quoted by Pliny, the Cynocephalus is said to be deeply grieved by the absence of the moon at the time of the new moon, and to manifest great joy at the return of her brightness.‡ Horus Apollo repeats the fiction, in order to explain two Egyptian hieroglyphics:§ in the one, the eyes of the Cynocephalus were fixed upon the ground, by this it was meant to indicate the time when the moon, as regards ourselves, is wholly deprived of the sun's rays; in the other, the Cynocephalus was represented standing, crowned and looking up at the growing moon; this was intended to show the time when the moon begins to reflect the light towards the earth. It is easy to see that the position of the sacred animal in either case represented the relative position of the sun to our satellite.

* Encyclop. méthod., Antiquités, art. "Cynocéphale." Horus Apollo. Hieroglyph., lib. i., c. xv.

† Horus Apollo. Hieroglyph., lib. i., c. xv.

‡ Plin. Nat. Hist., lib. viii., c. liv.

§ Horus Apollo. Hieroglyph., lib. i., c. xiii. and xiv.

Sixthly. Some may think I am carrying the point too far, if I attempt to connect a very common ceremony in Latium with a Hindu fable. That of Anhouma, however, may have reached Latium through Phœnicia,* and in a country where apes with tails were but little known, one of those animals with his tail in flames, such as we see represented in the Hindu picture, may have suggested the idea of a fox, and originated the religious practices of Carseoli, as well as the legend by which its inhabitants pretended to explain them.

SECTION LXXI.

NAMES OF DEITIES IN ONE RELIGION RETAINED BY OR IMPORTED INTO ANOTHER FORM OF RELIGION.

Our first attempt to reconcile different names with each other has been so fruitful in suggestive and important hints, that we are induced to continue our observations in the same direction. From this point of view, the ancient mythology of Armenia will, I think, prove to be extremely rich. Not that I admit the truth of what has been asserted by the Christians of that country, namely, that since the fifth century they have never professed the religion of Zoroaster.† It

* Volney, in the passage quoted before, p. 34, says, that in the Phœnician language Carseoli means the city of foxes. Hence the religious ceremony must have been older than the city, since it determined its name, and it had probably been imported from some other country, no doubt from the one the idiom of which explained the name.

† Chahan de Cirbied. Mémoires sur la Religion et sur le Gouvernement des Anciens Arméniens. (Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de France, vol. ii. pp. 287—289.)

was their wish to assign a religious ground for their national independence, and to break the bonds which an immemorial uniformity of creed had made so firm between themselves and the Persians. Now what did they ground their assertions on? On this, namely, that the Persians worshipped the material fire, which was never one of their own emblems; the statement, however, is untrue. They further rested their argument on the fact, that they themselves used to kindle the sacred fire *once a year* in honour of the sun, whereas the Persians kept it constantly burning;* surely this is but a difference in the ritual, a difference so small that we find its parallel in the various countries where the remnant of Zoroaster's disciples are scattered, where it is not looked upon by the Parsees as unorthodox; in a word, a difference less material than the diversities of doctrine which characterize the various Islam sects, and yet do not constitute them into so many different religions. Even if the Persians had not always maintained the identity of their own religion with that of Armenia (a most convincing proof, for in matters of religion people are not prone to claim brotherhood with strangers on slight grounds), and even if it had not been most minutely recorded in history that the Christians had made great efforts in the fifth century to secure their independence, but that their efforts had been fruitless on account of the greater opposing power of those of their fellow-countrymen who were disciples of Zoroaster,† and consequently made common cause

* Chahan de Cirbied. Mémoires sur la Religion et sur le Gouvernement des Anciens Arméniens. (Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de France, vol. ii., pp. 285—288.)

† Chahan de Cirbied himself acknowledges that the same god was worshipped in Armenia and in Persia, under the names of Aramaztes or Ormuzd (Recherches Curieuses, p. 31). He thinks that god was the king

with the Persians, it would only be necessary, in order to arrive at the truth of the matter, to notice the similarity between the names of Aramaztes and Ormuzd, and of Mihr and Mithras, a similarity which is further confirmed by the attributes of those deities, by the great number of names derived from their names, and by their frequent occurrence amongst both Persians and Armenians.*

Names of Deities in one form of worship transferred to another form.

Religious toleration procured admission for the gods of various foreign colonies† to Armenia, where, in course of time, they became naturalized. Some of their legends seem to be borrowed from Egypt, some from Hindustan. In Anahid,‡ the goddess of Nature, Wisdom, and Eternity, we cannot fail to recognize the Anaïtis of the Assyrians and the Diana Anaïtis who had a temple in Lydia.§ Her name also reminds us of the title, Anahid, given by Ormuzd‖ to the bright star that is the last to vanish at the rising of the sun and the first to shine in the twilight; to the planet which has often been reverenced as the emblem of eternal nature, ever young, ever beautiful, ever guided by the most perfect wisdom, ever shedding forth the treasures of her inexhaustible fruitfulness¶ on the living races of mankind.

Belus, but we know that Belus was one of the names of the sun before it became the name of a king of Assyria.

* Chahan de Cirbied. Mémoires sur la Religion et sur le Gouvernement des Anciens Arméniens, p. 287.

† Ibid., pp. 298, 299.

‡ Ibid., pp. 291, 292.

§ Pausanias, Laconic., c. xvi.

‖ Zend-Avesta, vol. ii., p. 356.

¶ The planet Venus, known by the name of Asdlig, *the* beautiful star, was an object of especial worship in Armenia (Chahan de Cirbied, p. 293). So the sun, who was represented by almost every god in polytheistic times, was specially worshipped by the name of Apollo; and the

Zoroaster transformed the guardian deities of Hindustan into evil geniuses of crime and impurity. Modern Greeks have consigned the name of Sabazius,* who was so much revered by their ancestors, to a place among the malevolent ghosts who (as they superstitiously believe) wander abroad during the long winter nights. On the very spots where Crodo was worshipped of old by the Germans, his name now denotes something fatal, execrable, and diabolical,† in the common language of the people; the erection of Druidical monuments, which remind descendants of the ancient Gauls of their ancestors, has frequently been attributed to the agency of infernal spirits. Metamorphoses like these cause little surprise; we should naturally expect to find them universally prevalent, and to see the deities of one religion transformed into the evil principles of another; but there is a powerful influence at work which causes an exception to the rule. Illiterate minds attach themselves most readily to hallowed places and names, which to them are the best known portions of their religion, because they are taught from the very first to believe without understanding. Custom perpetuates the

planet of the night, worshipped as the moon, was also called Hecate, Diana, and even Isis. The plurality of names often shows how portions of more modern forms of worship were borrowed from older religions.

* Sabazian wolves, *i. e.*, goblins (Pouquevlle, Voyage dans la Grèce, vol. iv., p. 415). Sabazius, god of the Thracians, was mistaken by the Greeks for Bacchus. See Hesychius, under the word Sabasios, and Suidas, article "Sebasios and Sabi;" Herod., lib. v., c. vii.; Diod. Sic., lib. iv., c. 2. Jupiter was also called Sabazius, see Julius Firmicus (De errore prof. Relig., 12mo. 1603, p. 35). The commentator on Firmicus, Joh. à Wower, mentions an inscription dedicated to Jupiter Sabazius (Ibid. p. 113). The sun was worshipped, under the name of Sabazius, in Thrace and in Phrygia (Macrob., Saturn, lib. i., c. xviii.)

† Jac. Tolli.; Epist. Itiner., &c., p. 34.

reverence of which names and places are the objects; through some kind of profane medley, religions are disfigured, and, as in Armenia, their origin soon becomes matter of doubt.

The principle is adopted even by the Christians.

Such is the influence of popular prejudice, that even Christianity deemed it expedient to make certain concessions. Pope Gregory the Great recommended that the temples should be retained just as they were, simply transforming them into churches, hoping that the people would go to them of their own accord, from mere force of habit, and be induced to worship the true God where they had formerly worshipped idols.* One of his successors, Pope Boniface IV., dedicated the Pantheon, formerly sacred to Cybele and all the gods,† to all saints and to the Virgin Mary. The most influential teachers of religion did not hesitate to sanction a system of reconciling names, and to connect with their own worship both places and seasons that were held in reverence by others, on account of their associations with the gods of another religion.

The festival of St. Denys, and of his companions St. Eleutherus and St. Rusticus, has taken the place of the solemnities called the Dionysialia and Rustica, usually celebrated in honour of Bacchus, who was sometimes surnamed Eleutherus. The god himself was long held in honour about the same date of the month, under the name of St. Bacch or St. Bacchus.‡

* Ecclesiast. Hist. gentis Anglorum Venerab. Bedæ Presbyt., p. 42 (1566). Many polytheistic ceremonies were for the same reason introduced into the new religion. St. Epiphanius, who tells us that the procession on Palm Sunday was taken from the worship of Serapis, (Adversus hæres., lib. ii., c. lxiv.) looked upon these adaptations of heathen mysteries as the fruitful source of innumerable heresies (Ibid. lib. iii., c. xii.)

† Platina, Vit. Pontific., in Bonifac. iv.

‡ Dulaure. Histoire Physique, Civile et Morale de Paris (7 vols. 8vo. Paris, 1821-22), vol. i., pp. 112, 113, 158, 159, 179, 182.

The temple of Victory, erected by Marius on the battle-field where he had triumphed over the Cimbri, was subsequently turned into a chapel dedicated to Ste.-Victoire. In Athens,* the temple of its guardian goddess, the goddess of wisdom, was changed into a church and dedicated to the divine Wisdom, St. Sophia. Gothard,† the god of the higher mountains, who, in right of his title, had altars on the most elevated point in the Alps to which human industry had penetrated, ceded his name and the worship paid to it to St. Gothard. Amongst the Romans the moon, which is ever regulating the year in its course, had become the sister of the unhappy Dido;‡ the mother of the Blessed Virgin is worshipped by the title of Anna Petronella, in a chapel dedicated to her memory, near the spot where the ancient Lavinium was situated. There is a legend§ that St. Seine, son of Count Maïmon, caused a spring to rise miraculously from the earth, not far from the village that bears his name, which is now the fountain-head of that beautiful river that flows through the capital of France. Now the name of the Seine was known before the Christian era, hence it will not be unfair to surmise that the saint succeeded to the honours of the already deified stream.

The Bohemians used to worship the sun by the name of Sviatovid; he was at once the god of war and the god of universal reproduction.‖ "When they were converted to

* Rapport des Travaux de la troisième classe de L'Institut de France. July, 1813. Magasin Encyclopédique, 1813, vol. v., p. 267.

† Ovid. Fast. lib. iii., vv. 656 and 645-654.

‡ C. V. Bonstetten Travels in Latium (Geneva, 1805, 8vo.), pp. 196, 197.

§ There was a monument at St. Seine on which the miracle was represented; it was disfigured, I think, in 1793.

‖ Lévêque. Histoire de Russie, vol. i., pp. 62, 63, and 66, 67. The

Christianity, advantage was, in a manner, taken of their superstition, and Vytcheslaf, their sovereign, gave them the relics of St. Guy or St. Vitus, who became their future patron saint. In the Sclavonic language there is no difference between the pronunciation of the ancient idol's name* and their saint's more modern appellation."

Instances of the same phenomena in mythological religions.

If, then, a severe, jealous, and exclusive form of worship could condescend to such toleration, it is no wonder if mythological religions sometimes contained names of the older divinities they had helped to dethrone, without being able to obliterate them wholly with all their undying associations.

First. The worship of Mithras, or the sacred bull, was prior in date to Zoroaster's teaching, and had been established by Djem-schid in order to reconcile the religious emblem with the change in the heavens caused by the procession of the vernal equinoxes,† which were removed from Gemini into Taurus. If my conjecture be well grounded, if the form of worship which was not obnoxious to the tolerant doctrines of Hindustan became from that time the national religion of Ivan, and claimed a share of the people's veneration equal to that paid to Djem-schid, an explanation has clearly been

same saint is very much reverenced in the district of Friuli, in Carinthia, and in Dalmatia, &c. His name is borne by several places. In one of them he suffered martyrdom; in another he was buried. The town of Fiume is also called St. Veit.

* The statue of Sviatovid had four faces. At Milan there was a church, which has since been closed, dedicated to St. John-with-the-four-faces. The saint had probably succeeded to some Janus Quadrifons, or to some other solar deity represented with four faces.

† It was, perhaps, in memory of the foundation of the equinoctial bull worship that seven princes, named Athvian, immediate descendants of Djem-schid, took surnames which recalled the idea of oxen, bulls, &c. (Boun-Dehesch, § 22; Zend-Avesta, vol. ii., p. 417). As regards Djemschid, see Appendix, note B., § 7.

given why, when Zoroaster overthrew the religious systems of the Hindus and established another religion, exclusive in character and widely differing from the worship of Mithras, he pretended to have merely remodelled the work of Djemschid; it will also have been explained why, removing Mithras from the foremost place, he taught that he was a being created by Ormuzd greater and more perfect than the Izeds of heaven;* and also why the hymns addressed by the Mazdeïesnans to Mithras are full of the most pompous titles; and last of all, why the man who breaks a promise made by joining of hands sins especially against Mithras. In the last instance, we recognize the fact, that Mithras had for centuries been the acknowledged guardian of promises and oaths.

In the Parsee religion the Hom is a sacred shrub; its branches and distillations play an important part in their religious ceremonies. Can a legislator's or a prophet's choice in such a matter have been the result of accident or caprice? Assuredly not. And when, farther, I find that an Ized is called Hom, a spirit whose especial province it is to watch over the welfare of mankind and all animated creation, and who when piously invoked by fathers grants to them sons endowed with excellent qualities and rare virtues, I almost fancy I can fathom the intention of Zoroaster. In the religion of the Brahmins, as in that of Vishn'u, Oum or Om is *the* word which, before all others, contains the three Vedas, the name of the Supreme Deity.† In olden times, as at the present day, that revered syllable must always have been connected in the minds of everyone with ideas of beneficence and power. Now, seeing that Zoroaster could not hope to

* Zend-Avesta, vol. ii., p. 10. † Oupnek'hat. Brahmen, xlv.

obliterate it from the memory of those whom he had come to convert, he seized upon a similarity of names, and tried to divert their feelings of veneration and their hopes, and to fix them on the tree used in all their religious ceremonies, or rather upon a spirit so identified with the sacred plant that, when the Mazdeïesnans* receive the sacred distillations of the Hom, they eat as it were the Ized Hom himself.

Secondly. In periods far remote, the sun, the life and soul of nature, the father of fire and light, seems to have been known by the name Jumala, as the Supreme God of the Permians, Finns, and Laplanders, and probably, also, of the Jutlanders, the old aborigines of Scandinavia.† In the Finn and Lapland‡ dialects Jumala still means God, although many centuries have elapsed since a new deity overthrew the altars of Jumala, and deprived him both of his divine honours and of the crown with twelve precious stones which adorned his head.

This revolution in the state of things was caused by the sudden irruption of a southern people into the Scandinavian§

* "He who celebrates you, O Hom;" "he that eats you," &c.; "Hom that is eaten, the accursed," &c. (Zend, Avesta, vol. i., part 2, pp. 113-117.)

† Scheffer (Jean). History of Lapland, French translation. (1 vol., 4to., Paris, 1678), pp. 33-36.

‡ Scheffer (Jean). History of Lapland, pp. 19, 151. In the dialect of Finland, Jumala, god; of Lapland, Jubmal or Immel, according to Scheffer; and in the Asia Polyglotta of M. J. Klaproth, Jomala, Jommal, Jomal, in the three first Finn-Germanic dialects; and in the Lapland dialect, Jabmel and Ibmel. Himmel, in the Teutonic, means heaven. If these comparisons be considered at all forced, similar as they are to some I have already made (see § 66), I merely observe that, till the invasion of the Ases, the language of Finland may have prevailed over part of Germany. (See § 74.)

§ See Munter's Dissertation on the most ancient religion of the North before the time of Odin, extracted by Depping. (Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de France, vol. ii., pp. 216-231.)

peninsula. Thor was its supreme deity; Thor, who was distinguished from all others by the old title Auka (very ancient); Thor, the lord of thunder, who, like Jupiter, had given his name to the fifth day of the week.* Next to him came Odin or Hlodin, the Woden of the old Teutonic nations, amongst whom the fourth day still retains the name;† the bright and blazing sun jointly worshipped with the earth, Hlodana or Hlodyn, who was believed to be his wife. Freyr or Friggo, the generating sun, and his sister Freya, or Frigga, the goddess of fertility and emblem of reproductive nature, with the two former already named, made up a group similar to the Trimurti, or Trinity of the Hindus. Freyr and Freya were one, like Odin and Hlondana, according to the old belief, which still obtains in Hindustan, that the divinities possessed both sexes, and could change them at will; they are the symbol of the active and passive energies of nature.

In the second rank was Tyr, the son of Odin, and god of war. Locke, the god of fire (once confounded with Jumala by the natives), had not wholly lost his earlier honours; almost the whole of the peninsula still came in blind confidence to consult his oracle.

Just as Zoroaster teaches that Ormuzd and Mithras are constantly employed in combatting the Dews, *i. e.*, the gods of Hindustan, so the gods who had been conquered by Thor, and who with their worshippers had been driven back into the ice-bound caverns of Lapland and Finland, were even then pursued by the Aijekewetschera, or formidable hammer with which the hand of Thor‡ is armed, just as the hand of

* Thursday.

† Wednesday. Freya gave her name to Friday, Freitag.

‡ Munter. Sur la plus Ancienne Religion, &c., p. 217. J. Scheffer. History of Lapland, p. 65.

Mithras was armed with a club. There a fresh defeat awaited them; they disappeared, and the national religion of the Laplanders, that which even now contains a mixture of the old religion with Christianity,* has ever since presented to the worship of the faithful the entire group of the three Scandinavian deities. Thor, the god of thunder, crushing the heads of the evil spirits beneath the blows of his irresistible hammer, was the supreme deity. Baiwe, the sun, sometimes worshipped in the same temple as Thor, corresponded with Odin or Hlodin. Stoor-Junkare, the dispenser of Thor's good gifts, ruled over animated nature and showered all earthly blessings on mankind. In such characteristic features we recognize Freyr or Friggo, and with all the more certainty, because Stoor-Junkare is not a name, but a title, equivalent in its meaning to powerful ruler; probably a modern title, and unknown perhaps in some parts of Lapland.† The Laplanders have also worshipped the goddess Wirku or Wiru, surnamed Accha the old, the ancient; her name, which was probably pronounced Vricu or Vreca, is that of Freya or Frigga, with the honourable addition of the epithet Auka, which the Laplanders used to give to their principal deities, but more especially to Thor. Auka or Aijecka, means grandfather, great-grandfather, or very ancient,‡ in the Finn dialect. This same epithet, which is also applied to Thor in Scandinavia, would tend to prove that the founders of his religion were originally from amongst the people of Finland.

The Ases, a warlike tribe, who had separated from the immense family of the Scythians, made an attack on Scan-

* J. Scheffer. History of Lapland, pp. 34-36, and 64-73.

† Ibid., &c., pp. 64, 69, 71, and 368.

‡ Ibid., pp. 65, 67, 68.

dinavia, and in their turn drove back the determined followers of the old creed* into the deserts of Lapland, and even of Siberia. In their turn, too, they imitated the twofold example of Zoroaster; the native god Locke became the father of the principle of evil, of the great serpent, the mortal enemy of the Ases and their people. Thrown into the gloomy depths of a dreadful cavern, Locke groaned under the weight of ponderous chains, and even there the ancient renown of his oracle attracted a crowd of worshippers.†

The name Odin.

The other objects of public worship were treated with less severity. Odin was the name adopted by the chief of the Ases; Odin, therefore, shall be the chief of the gods. Freya, the goddess with the golden tears, shall be his wife, and shall alone receive the homage which she shared of old with Freyr, who from that time is consigned to oblivion. Satisfied with having usurped the first rank, and taken his place over Thor, Odin did not attempt to deprive him of the right to hurl down the thunderbolts from heaven; on the contrary, he adopted him as his son, and the new creed tried by degrees to confound Thor with Tyr, the son of the ancient Odin, the subaltern god of war; but a more firmly established tradition stood in the way of this. Far from allowing the remembrance of the change to pass away, the dethroned deity was named Auka-Thor, Thor the ancient; and the deity worshipped by the Ases in the midst of their battles was called Asa-Thor.

By a judicious retention of such names as have been

* Suhm (quoted by Munter in p. 217 of his work) says, that on the frontiers of Siberia there is a tribe situated, near the Ostiakes, who still acknowledge as their gods Thor, Odin, and Frigga; and that the name Thor is held in great reverence by the Tschouvassians of Kazan.

† Saxo-Grammaticus, Danic. Histor. (folio, Francofurt, ad Moenum, 1576), lib. viii., pp. 147-149.

hallowed by the veneration of ages, the politic foresight of the innovators made the transition from the older belief to the new creed an easy one, especially as it was not doubted that Thor and Odin had frequently appeared in human form and conversed with their worshippers; hence the religion of the Ases might only be a fresh advent of those gods. For the same reason, it is difficult to fix the date of its complete triumph; for how can we assign a fixed date to an occurrence which must have been progressive in character? The period of its commencement is not less uncertain; it seems to fluctuate here and there over an interval of four hundred years. The invasion of the Ases took place in the century before the birth of Christ, says Sperlinghius.* His view is confirmed by a passage from Jornandès,† who, about the time of Sylla, describes a legislator who civilized the Goths of Thrace and Mœsia, and led them into Germany on a devastating expedition. Gräberg von Hemsöe fixes the date of the last Odin's‡ expedition as far back as the close of the fourth century of our era. This furnishes us with another illustration of our observation on the homonymous multiplicity of characters, both historical and mythological, as, for instance, those of Orpheus and Zoroaster. Saxo-Grammaticus, (a writer who, to all appearance, would be more accurate if he only arranged his events in something like chronological order, and yet who in reality would be less so, because he merely followed the Sagas, in which all chronology is ignored), evidently implies the

When did the religion of the Ases prevail?

* Sperlinghius. Nouvelles Littéraires de la Baltique (1699), p. 174.

† Jornandès. De rebus Gothicis, c. xxxiii.-xxxv.

‡ Frigge-Fridulfson, known as the last Odin. (Notice sent to the Institute of France by Gräberg de Hemsöe. Compte rendu des Travaux de la troisième classe de l'Institut. July, 1814.)

appearance of several Odins. The divine husband of Freya disappeared for a number of years, and a clever magician appears in his place, Mythodin, whose name proclaims him to be the possessor of the courage and spirit of Odin. The god returns, the impostor makes a precipitate retreat, and goes to end his days in Fünen, where, even after his death, the very mention of his deeds causes terror and alarm. At a period not quite so remote, Odin, the father of Balder, submitted to various humiliating conditions in order to obtain the hand of a princess. Indignant at his meanness, the senate of the gods banished and degraded him, and transferred his power and divine nature to Oller, who was at the same time commanded to take the name of Odin. After a ten years' expiation, Odin was restored by the same gods, and was allowed to resume his name, power and divinity.* Hence the divine nature was supposed to reside, under the name of Odin, in the persons of the Pontiff-kings of Scandinavia.†

* Saxo-Grammat. Danic. Hist., lib. iii., pp. 41, 42.

† In this remarkable passage, Saxo-Grammaticus calls Odin "the infamous Pontiff (probrosus antistes); he uses the word *magistracy* to denote the office to which Oller had been raised, after saying that the *council* had made him High Priest (flamen). King and Pontiff (rex et pontifex) are the terms used by Jornandès when speaking of the immediate successor of the first legislator of the Goths. (Jornandès De rebus Gothicis, c. xxxvi.)

SECTION LXXII.

ERRORS MAY BE CAUSED BY AN APPARENT SIMILARITY IN THE NAMES OF TWO DEITIES; THE SPIRIT OF LODA CONFOUNDED WITH ODIN.

Odin and Loda, are they the same?

Is ODIN, the Scandinavian god, the superhuman being so often spoken of by Ossian by the name of Cruth-Loda, or Spirit of Loda?*

Cruth-Loda is the god of Lochlin, and no one doubts that Lochlin means some place in Scandinavia. To his airy palace the shades of the departed warriors of his race ascend; to the brave he presents the festal cup; between the cowards and himself his huge shield rises as a rampart.† If these characteristics and the similarity of names be observed, must not the identity of the chief of the Ases and the spirit of Loda be established?

True, the name Lochlin does not appear in Scandinavian history; it belongs to the Gaelic dialect, and, by a singular coincidence, is found connected with Morven,‡ both on the Caledonian coast and in Ossian's poems; this, however, is

* Ossian. Cathloda .... Carric-Thura .... The death of Cuthullin .... Oina-morul .... Temora. (Macpherson's edition. The Works of Ossian, 4 vols., 12mo., Paris, 1783). Poems of Manos, Dermid, Dargo son of Druivel, Colmul son of Dargo. (John Smith's edition, Edinburgh, 1780, French translation, 3 vols., Paris, 1795.) Loda is mentioned in the poem Dargo, which is usually attributed to Ullin, an older bard than Ossian.

† Cuth-Loda. Duan I. (The Works of Ossian, &c., vol. iv., pp. 46, 47.)

‡ Loch-Linnhe, an arm of an inland sea, in front of Morven, near the Sound of Mull. (Knox's Travels in the Highlands of Scotland, French translation, 2 vols., 8vo., Paris, 1790., vol. i., pp. 290, 300, &c.)

only a first and faint indication of facts, for Ossian may have done what is done every day, *i.e.*, he may have given to a foreign country a name different from the one used by its own inhabitants.

But the names Armor, Colgorm, and Carglass have a meaning in Gaelic, and yet were borne by some of the warriors of Lochlin.* If other names do not manifest the same features, they have probably been disfigured by a difference of pronunciation, which may be easily accounted for by the intervening distance between Morven and Lochlin.

The warriors of Lochlin and of Morven seem to need no interpreters in their frequent conversations; we infer, therefore, that they spoke the same language, for this cannot be an oversight on the part of Ossian. When the poet describes the Franks and Romans drawn up in battle array, beneath the banners of Carausius,† against his fellow countrymen, he records no conversations between the warriors of the two armies; a bard sent by Oscar brings a challenge to the enemy's chieftain; but that chieftain, a Gaul by birth,‡ must have understood the Caledonian idiom.

But further, the intimate relationships that existed between the two people cannot leave a shadow of a doubt as to the identity of their origin. Their principal families had often intermarried. When they left either of the two countries, the warriors were sure to find hospitable shelter and honour-

* Colgorm .... Cath-Loda. Duan II. Armor .... a poem of Dargo. (John Smith. Ossian's Poems, vol i., pp. 68-71.)

† The war of Caros.

‡ Carausius was born amongst the Menapii, a people who had succeeded the Morini in the district of which Boulogne-sur-mer is now the chief town. (S. Aurelius Victor, De Cæsaribus.)

able maintenance* in the other. In a word, Lochlin observed customs which have been handed down and prevail in our own days in the Highlands of Caledonia. A quarrel suddenly breaks out between two chiefs;† to rouse the friends of his family to arms, each of them sends round, far and wide, a broken and bloody lance;‡ their signals reach Morven, whose warriors are divided in opinion, and who, obeying their various predilections, go to the assistance of one side or the other.

However, there was a deadly feud between the two nations; their kings fought without intermission from the days of Trenmor to the days of Fingal and Ossian. In vain did the King of Morven try to disarm that bitter hatred by his generosity; the promises of peace he had received from his enemies vanished before the winds that filled the sails of his retiring ships. The race of Loda, as treacherous as it was brave, seems, with ever-reviving hatred, to derive from its god the right of breaking all its oaths.

Who, then, is this implacable god?

Who is the Spirit of Loda?

His worshippers come to consult§ his oracles beneath a venerable oak; near it there are three moss-covered stones. In the midst of a circle of unhewn blocks of rock there rises a still huger block, "the stone of power," over which the Spirit of Loda appears to Fingal, and tries in vain to freeze

* Aldo and Ma-ronnan, discontented subjects of Fingal, desert and take refuge near one of the chiefs of Lochlin (Ossian, the battle of Lora). Colgorm leaves Lochlin to take his place amongst the warriors of Morven. (Ossian, Cath-Loda. Duan II. Works of Ossian, vol. iv., p. 56.)

† Sul-Malla of Lumon. (The Works of Ossian, vol. iv., p. 26.)

‡ The name of this signal, Crantara, meant *Wood of Call.* (John Smith. Ossian's Poems, vol. i., p. 87.)

§ Cath-Loda. Duan I. (The Works of Ossian, vol. iv., p. 44.)

the blood in his veins with horror. Inistore, one of the Orkneys, is the scene of his defeat.* The chief of Craca, one of the Shetland isles, addresses his prayer to the "stone of power," in the centre of the horrible circle of Bruno, where the affrighted ghosts howl† dismally the whole livelong night. The sacred stone which is the object of their terror, the stone which suddenly falls shaken from its socket, while spirits heave the earth in their wrath,‡ is the stone of Loda. The circle of stones that surround it, sometimes in a double tier, that circle§ where the grey-haired men, inspired of Heaven, have their dwelling, and where the priests by magic incantations peer into the future,‖ and seek to rule it, that circle is pre-eminently called Loda, and sixteen centuries have not deprived it of the name.¶

Origin of the name.

I conclude, then, that the site of their religious ceremonies gives its name to the deity,** and perhaps even further, to the

* Carric-Thura. (Ibid. vol. iv., pp. 132-134.)

† See the episode of Grumal, towards the end of the sixth canto of the poem of Fingal. (Ibid. vol. i., p. 124.) I am aware that the poem, as Macpherson has edited it, is a mere piece of patchwork; but its various component parts do belong to Ossian, and may be found amongst the Gaelic songs preserved by the Highlanders, and collected together in the beautiful Gaelic edition of Ossian's works, to which is appended a Latin translation. (3 vols., 4to.)

‡ "As the stone of Loda falls, shook at once from rocking Druman-ard, when," &c. (Ossian, Temora, book v.)

§ See the episode of Lamderg, in the fifth canto of the poem of Fingal.

‖ See the poems already quoted, more especially Colmal son of Dargo.

¶ Circles of stone called Loda or Loden, may still be seen in the Orkney and Shetland Islands. Macpherson seems to think that there is some difference between these monuments and the old Druidical erections of England. But as he gives no particulars of any such difference, we prefer keeping to Ossian's account, the accuracy of which proves that these monuments were really Druidical.

** Macpherson grants that Loda means a place consecrated for wor-

worship offered, and to the system of teaching which perpetuates its existence. What is the value, then, of an imperfect resemblance between that and the other name which belongs to a strange divinity? No sooner has the deceptive glimmer vanished from our view, than a surer and a steadier light shines out to guide us. The oak near which the three stones formed a dolmen or Celtic altar, the stone of power, the true straight stone or peulvan, the circle of unhewn stones, the cromlech that surrounds it, all those monuments which the worshippers of Odin overthrew in their zeal, belonged to the religion of the Druids. Even the name Loda may not be foreign to the Gaelic tongue, and may signify the place of praise, of hymns, or of worship; or, again, the place dedicated to the excellent Being.*

The large stones erected by the Scandinavians were covered with Runic characters.

The Scandinavians, also, used frequently to raise consecrated stones, but they covered them with Runic characters, or carved them in the shape of idols. Would Ossian, in his minutely exact descriptions, have omitted to notice these

ship. Cruth is translated into cymbal, or lute, at any rate an instrument of music. Cruth-Loda, then, would mean the brilliant or harmonious sound of Loda, a title which reminds us of the one sometimes given to Vishn'u in Hindustan, viz., *the heavenly musician*, and also of the doctrine of the people of the East, according to which God was represented emblematically by a musician, leading the eternal concert of the world. (Dupuis, Origine de tous les Cultes, 8vo, vol. vii., p. 299.) But in this case, Cruth is probably only an altered form of Grwith, a soft murmur, words spoken in a low tone; Cruth-Loda would then mean the hollow or low voice that proceeds from Loda: see the expression "hollow voice," in Ossian's Carric-Thura.

* Llawd, to praise; Llawda, he will praise, he praises. Lle, place; od, excellent, perfect. (Richards, Welsh-English Dictionary.) St. Oda, who converted the people to Christianity, who lived between the Meuse and the Rhine, and amongst whom she had taken refuge, was a Scotch princess.

so-called divine images, the appearance of which would seem so strange to the Caledonian warriors, or could he have overlooked the Runic inscriptions which probably played so important a part in the magic ceremonies of the children of Loda? Now, in the islands where the monuments are found, where the poet places the appearance and the worship of the god, not a single stone has been found on which Runic characters can be traced; and even if such had been found, it would still be necessary to prove that they had been there before the fourth century, when those islands were conquered by the Scandinavians.

To this it may be objected, that the absence of Runic characters is but a poor argument, if we suppose that the warriors of Lochlin professed the religion of Auka-Thor, in which Odin or Hlodin still occupies a high position.

Invention of Runic characters attributed to Odin.

In that case, I should answer, the adversaries of Morven would not address their prayers to Odin, but to Thor, whose name has nothing at all in common with the spirit of Loda.

It is quite true that the invention of Runic characters was attributed to the chief of the Ases, and Odin himself boasts of it* in a sacred poem. But how frequently nations have attributed to their gods, or to the king they recognize as their earliest chief, or to their earliest ancestors, inventions of immemorial antiquity, such as agriculture, writing, or navigation. Without assigning to Runic characters the fabulous antiquity granted to them by Rudbek, we may yet infer,

* In the Havamaal. Many passages of the Edda and the Woluspa seem to assign the composition of the sacred books, and the origin of the poetry of the Sagas, rather than the invention of Runic characters, to Odin. See A Dissertation on the Origin of Language and Runic Characters (8vo., Copenhagen, 1767), pp. 22, 23.

from the observations he made, and from the fact that Runic inscriptions are more perfect in proportion to their greater antiquity,* that they existed before the invasion of the Ases. The religion of the Ases did not penetrate into Lapland, yet seventeen or eighteen leagues from Kaengis, on an uninhabited and almost always snow-capped mountain, a stone covered with Runic characters is the marvel of the country in the eyes of the Laplanders; the mysterious writing contains the principles of universal science.†

The absence of all idols is as conclusive as the absence of Runic characters. Like their predecessors, the worshippers of Jumala, the worshippers of Auka-Thor prostrated themselves before their idols. The celebrated idol of Upsal exists probably still. The Laplanders carve images of Thor in wood; and even if the want of proper tools prevented them from fashioning sacred stones in a similar manner, those stones were nevertheless considered as entitled to their reverence, because they had been marked out by the god who was supposed to be imaged by them.‡

And, last of all, the worship of Thor, or that of Odin, must have been widely prevalent as early as the third century in

* Verelius, in his Runographia, is the writer who makes this important observation. He is quoted by Charles Pougens in his Essai sur les Antiquités du Nord, &c. (8vo., Paris, 1799), p. 20. Before the appearance of Odin, Saxo-Grammaticus speaks of certain magic or Runic verses, engraved on wood, and placed in the mouth of a dead body. (Historia Danica, lib. i., p. 10.)

† Maupertuis. Relation d'un Voyage au fond de la Laponie. Works of Maupertuis (4 vols., 8vo., Lyons, 1756), vol. iii., pp. 179-194.

‡ J. Scheffer. History of Lapland, pp. 77-80. On an island situated in the midst of the cataract of Dawa, there are five stone idols; they represent one man of immense stature, and four shorter men. Ibid. pp. 79, 80.

the Caledonian islands, if the chiefs of Craca and Inistore invoked the principal deity publicly. On the contrary, tradition proves that Christianity immediately succeeded the religion of the Celts. Innis-Druinach, the island of the Druids, where the body of Dargo* was laid, near the mortal remains of the Druids, his ancestors, is probably the same as Iona.† Iona was the last refuge of the Druids when contending against the progress of Christianity, by which they were not finally driven out until the sixth century.

The worshippers of Loda were Celts.

Were the worshippers of the spirit of Loda Celts, then? Assuredly, for the Druids constantly made common cause with them. Trenmor, the great-grandfather of Fingal, had put down the influence of the Druids. Driven from their mountain homes, and reduced to a condition of obscurity wherever the influence of the King of Morven's fame was felt, the degraded priests took refuge in Jutland, and perhaps even as far as in Norway;‡ there they roused the warriors of Lochlin to arms, and fostered an implacable enmity§ to their conqueror, his allies, and descendants. The oracle of Loda spoke as they wished it to speak, echoing their thoughts which thirsted for plunder and revenge. At the sound of his power-

* Ossian. Colmul son of Dargo. Edited by J. Smith, vol. iii., pp. 5, 6.

† Ibid. p. 39.

‡ Leychlyn is the Welsh name for Norway (Richards, Welsh-English Dictionary). If we wish to identify the country described by Ossian with any certainty, we must remember that it was remarkable for its numerous lakes. Hence the poet invents a kind of surname, which he gives to the country and its chiefs: Lochlin of the Lakes; Swaran of the Lakes; Starno of the Lakes. (Cath-Loda, Duan I.)

§ Macpherson. Works of Ossian, vol iv., p. 14. John Smith. Summary of the poem of Dargo son of Druivel, and note 1 on that poem, vol. ii., of the French translation, pp. 122-153.

ful voice, the religion of oaths and the religion of gratitude were silent. A war was kindled in which the awe-inspiring delusions of magic incessantly seconded the efforts of their bravery; a war which was handed down from generation to generation; a war of extermination, which only came to an end when, sated with victories, the race of Trenmor became extinct.

The Druids had never solicited help from Gaul, where their religion was established, though somewhat checked and humbled by the superiority of a victorious faith, and profaned by an amalgamation of its sacred emblems with their own. Is it to be supposed that these same Druids would brave the perils of a stormy sea, and on distant shores seek for auxiliaries from amongst a people who differed from them in religion and in language? Would the Druids, who were so jealous of the purity of their rites, have consented to mix them up with the invocations of idol-worshippers? Would they have fought in the ranks of those barbarians?* Would they have exposed themselves to the derisive mockery of Trenmor, by an open confession of the worthlessness of their own ceremonial impostures; and would they have joined themselves, while on their own native soil,† to the pompous train of a foreign magician? Is it at all likely that the Scandinavians,

* Colmul son of Dargo (in the poem of the same name), like his father, aided by the children of Loda, is also, like his father, a Druid; when he dies he gives to Fingal, his conqueror, the magic wand by which the members of the Druidical order were distinguished. (John Smith. Ossian's Poems, vol. iii., pp. 27-41.)

† The Works of Ossian, vol. iv., pp. 15, 16. In this poem (Cathlin of Clutha) the Druids of Cormal, Trenmor's adversary, have a magician of Loda with them. He had come from Lochlin, and Innishuna is the scene of the events recorded, in England, opposite the coast of Ireland.

full of religious zeal for a new form of belief, would have spread its supposed supernatural powers far and wide in order to aid the efforts of a religion the monuments of which, on the shores of the Baltic, they were doing all in their power to destroy? When we reflect upon the relationships between the two nations, and the character of the worship of Loda, far from admitting facts which are so contrary to the nature of men and priestly institutions, we shall be ready to give credence to the similarity of their monuments, the great resemblance of their customs, the identity of their language, and the intimacy of their intercourse with one another; and further, we shall admire the conduct of the son of Fingal, who, when anxious in the midst of his triumphs to renew the bonds of an old friendship* with those who had behaved nobly as enemies, sings of the aerial mansions where the heroes of Morven, and those of Lochlin, sit at the same banquets, are borne upon the same wings of the stormy wind, thenceforth to live in peace and freedom from hatred, and, as they look back upon their battles, to wonder at the frivolity of their quarrels.

Did an error, caused by the feeble resemblance between Odin and Loda, justify so lengthy an examination? The importance of its results will furnish an answer to the question.

Results of the foregoing enquiry.

First. It has been asked whether Ossian had any idea of the existence of a divinity. Was he, then, so far removed from the age of Trenmor as to be unacquainted with a belief the overthrow of which was hardly four centuries old? On the contrary, many precious relics of the religion, the yoke of which the grandfather of Fingal had thrown off, are preserved

* J. Smith. Ossian's Poems, vol. ii., pp. 151, 152.

in his poems under the title of the worship of Loda. He gives us, on this subject, far more accurate information than the Greek and Roman writers, who were always misled by a desire to trace their own divinities amongst the gods of other nations. We find, in those poems, the Druids using their oracles, their apparitions, and even their magic delusions as weapons against their enemies. We become convinced that the Celts, like the Scandinavians, and probably like all the warlike nations, worshipped a warrior god, who welcomed the brave to his heavenly mansions, and always excluded the cowardly. It is the god, no doubt, who, under the name of Mars, was allowed by the Roman law (usually so jealous of such privileges) to be chosen in Gaul as an heir;* Jupiter Tarpeius in Rome, Apollo Didymaeus at Miletus, Minerva in Ilium, Diana at Ephesus, and the Mother of the Gods in Smyrna.

Secondly. It is not improbable that in the third century, a people may have inhabited a district of Jutland or Norway, to which they gave a name which they had derived from their own language, and in which they retained their Druids and their national worship, free from any admixture with the religious and tyrannical customs of the Ases.

Was this people a last link in the long chain by which Germany was, for a considerable period, united in religious

* Institut. seu titul. lib. ex corpore Ulpiani, lemmate qui haeredes institui possunt. "Jovem Tarpeium, Apollinem Didymaeum, *Martem in Galliâ*, Minervam Iliensem, Herculem Gaditanum, Dianam Ephesiam, Matrem deorum Sipylensem quae Smyrnae colitur." N.B. The statue of the Mother of the Gods, which was erected on a rock on the northern side of Mount Sipylus, was supposed to be the oldest of all (Pausanias. Lacon. c. xxii.), and was consequently an object of great veneration amongst the inhabitants of Smyrna and Magnesia.

matters to Gaul* and to the North of Italy? or had they only settled on these ice-bound shores three centuries before, when pursued by a conqueror whose clemency is praised even in the very places where, during a most iniquitous war, he butchered a million of men, and in a wanton and cowardly spirit subjected the chiefs of the vanquished people to the most horrible tortures?† We cannot decide. On the one hand, the love of independence may have led some of the tribes that were subject to the oppressions of Cæsar far away from an enslaved country. In the ebb and flow of the human race upon the earth, more important migrations have left not more deeply marked traces in history. On the other hand, there are many circumstances to prove that, in Europe as well as in Asia, the older nations have dovetailed into each other, if I may so speak, more than modern nations. Are there not Saxons, even in our own days, who, from time immemorial, have been settled in the territory of Verona?‡ are there not Helvetians on the frontiers of the department of La Marne,§ and Latins in the very heart of the Rhætic Alps? Similarly, but on a larger scale, history points to Germans amongst the

* Monuments of unhewn stone are still found in Norway, Denmark, and Sweden, and have been mentioned by M. Mallet in his history of Denmark, and minutely described by M. Munter (Dissertation sur la plus ancienne religion, &c., pp. 228-230). They do not differ at all from the monuments raised by the Druids in great numbers, both in Gaul and in the British isles, many of which have survived the effects of age, the gods of the Romans, and the influence of Christianity. The same origin may therefore be assigned to both, especially as the worshippers Auka-Thor and Jumala, respectively, undoubtedly worshipped idols.

† Cæsar. De bello Gallico, lib. iii., c. iii.

‡ Progno, on the borders of the Veronese and Vicentine territories.

§ At Courtisols. Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de France, vol. v., pp. 326-364.

Celts, and to Celts and Sclaves amongst the Germans. Why, in periods far remote, should not a Celtic tribe have landed upon the shores of Scandinavia, or have reached them by gradual removals? This general examination of the subject, and the particular application which is the result of the historical problem we have been attempting to solve, might possibly lead to a settlement of many disputes as to the precise limits of the Celtic and Germanic territories.

SECTION LXXIII.

LOCAL AND NATIONAL GODS.

THE Spirit of Loda descends upon the earth accompanied by all his terrors; fear and death* tread in his footsteps. His breath sets the tempest free, causes the forests to bend before its fury, and the ocean's waves to toss with foam. Thy arm, the bards say at a warrior's grave, thy arm was like the breath of Loda.† In the fight, Cruth-Loda, the God of Swords,‡ is the protector of his worshippers; he reveals to them the future; he strives to strike terror into the hearts of their foes; he opens to them the gates of an immortality of bliss after a death of glory; they are the offsprings of his race, his very children.

And yet the same god is hardly more formidable than is an ordinary warrior to the heroes of Morven; he employs

* Poem of Manos (J. Smith, Poems of Ossian, vol. ii., p. 22).

† Poem of Dargo, supposed to have been composed by Ullin, a much older bard than Ossian. (J. Smith, ibid. vol. i., pp. 69-71, and p. 85).

‡ Cruth-Loda of Swords. (Cath-Loda, Duan I. The Works of Ossian, vol. iv., p. 46).

powerless miracles as weapons against their kings; the sword of Fingal reaches him and compels him to fly amid groans and wailings, even on the very soil of Lochlin; Ossian and his warriors pass the night near the double circle of Loda and the stone of power, heedless of danger.* They have no fear of the god whose children they have come to fight. All this, because they look on him as the god of the people who worship him; when the Caledonians abandoned the belief they became strangers to it. Such feelings are inconsistent with our ideas of the unlimited nature of divine power, nevertheless we shall be able to trace them throughout ancient history, and we shall find that they are the very foundation of the principle on which local and national gods were multiplied indefinitely.

Instances of local Gods.

Man is led by an irresistible attraction to appropriate to himself everything in which he feels an interest, even his God. In great associations of men, there will sometimes be as many gods created as there are temples of a god, that there may be a feeling of exclusive property in the nearest temple; a family will even go so far as to give a surname, founded upon their own proper name,† to the god they most delight to honour. Hence, on the same principle, a people will be most likely to give the name of the place in which they are settled to the god whom they worship. The Greek who lives near the harbour Glykis‡ offers his prayers to the Virgin Mother, addressing her as Saint Glykis.

The goddess of Bombay, Momba Devee, is the same as the

* Sulmalla of Lumon (Works of Ossian, &c., vol. iv., p. 27).

† Dianae Raesianae Q. Raesius Q. Fil. Surdinus cum Raesiâ Herculaniolâ. sacrum. An old inscription found in Rome (Encycl. Méthod., Antiquités, art. Diane).

‡ This harbour, which lies near the mouth of the Acheron, is also called Phanari. (See Pouqueville, Voyage dans la Grèce, vol. iv., pp. 468-476.)

oldest of the Hindu goddesses, Parvati,* the wife of Shiva; this is proved by her attributes, and yet the identity is not recognised by any of her worshippers; the name of her dwelling-place becomes that of a purely local deity. It was probably owing to some similar reason that Alabandus, the pretended founder of the city of the same name, was held in greater respect than any other deity† by the Alabandians.

The worship of local gods seems to have been a favourite one with our pious ancestors. Borvo,‡ at Bourbonne-les-Bains, Nen-nerio, in the ancient city of Néris§, Evahona, at Evahon,‖ fulfilled the offices of tutelary deities. Various inscriptions discovered at Chambon,¶ the chief town in the district of Combrailles, remind us of the goddess Cambonia or Cambonna, whose name was assumed, even in the days of Christianity, by the princesses of that principality; an instance which, if taken in conjunction with many others, proves satisfactorily that there existed a general wish to transfer the feeling of reverence felt by a people for its gods, from its natural objects to the chiefs of the nation.

The affection felt for a place of safety would chime in so well with the tendency to create new local gods, that a great number of cities would naturally be turned at once into deities. Rome had a temple in the city of Rome, where

* Maria Graham. Journal of a Residence in India, p. 31 of the French translation.

† Cic. De naturâ Deorum, lib. iii., c. xix.

‡ Encycl. Méthod. Antiquités, art. Borvo.

§ J. F. Baraïlon. Recherches sur plusieurs monuments Celtiques et Romains (8vo., Paris, 1806), pp. 143-155. Néris, in the department of Allier.

‖ Ibid., pp. 32-34. Evahon or Eveux, in the department of La Creuse.

¶ Ibid., pp. 9, 10. Chambon, department of La Creuse.

victims were sacrificed in her honour, "and the name of the place was worshipped like a deity."*

Results of such a system of local deities, generally.

Such an individualizing of a town or city resulted in there being presented to the patriotic mind, not an abstract idea, but a living reality capable of sympathising with a people's needs and invested with superhuman power. The citizens were taught to believe that whatever disasters befell them they must never despair of their city's ultimate safety, since it was under the protection of a deity.

To this creation of a deity a name was also sometimes added, as for instance in Rome, and the greatest secrecy was to be maintained regarding it. The safety of the city depended upon its being kept secret. If the name were revealed, there was immediate danger that the enemy would find out some means of evoking the protection of the deity with success.† This may seem strange to us, and yet, with the exception of the evocation, the same thing may be traced in all times and in all places, like everything else which is intimately connected with the common habits and feelings of men. Every province in China, every town, and every hamlet is placed under the protection of some local deity‡ or some spiritual guardian.

Even Christians have not always been wholly free from the tendency, the results of which I have been examining. An old man, who had the gift of prophecy, used to maintain in the seventh century (and he was generally believed) that a church erected at Monza and dedicated to St. John, made

* Delubrum Romae colitur nam sanguine et ipsa
More Deae, nomenque loci ceu numen habetur.
Prudent. in Symmach., lib. i, De simulacro Romae.

† Macrob. Saturnal., lib. iii., c. ix.; Plutarch., Quaest. Rom., c. lxi.

‡ Father Martini. History of China, bk. iv. Journal Asiatique, vol. ii., pp. 168-175.

the saint of that name the tutelary deity of the Lombards, who consequently could not be conquered so long as they paid him due reverence.* And, even down to about our own times, what was the meaning of all those saints who were chosen to be the patrons of states, cities, towns, corporations, professions, and trades? What did they represent in the eyes of unenlightened piety? Mere local divinities. In battle, the French addressed their prayers to St. Denis, the Spaniards to St. James, and the English to St. George. Venice was the city of St. Mark. If the Venetian senate wished to prevent the sale of a patrician's property to a foreign noble, they had only to order that the lion of St. Mark should be painted over the door, with the words, "Our Protector."†

Such results are of two kinds.

The results of the worship of local deities have been twofold, at two different periods in the progress of civilization.

First. We have already seen that in Greece the same divinity was worshipped in each of its temples by a different name, and that the difference of name seemed to constitute it a different divinity. The result, however, was sometimes the opposite to this; the name of the local divinity was frequently adopted as the surname of a more widely reverenced divinity with which the former was purposely confounded, such a metamorphosis being quite consistent with the general desire of the Romans to trace the existence of their own divinities in every place. The practice spread insensibly in Italy and Greece, as the neighbouring nations became gradually more

* Paulli Diaconi, De gestis Romanorum, ad Eutropii Histor. add., lib. xviii.

† Protector noster. Freschot. Nouvelle Relation, &c. Second part, p. 301.

and more mixed up and allied with them, so that when we come to view the matter in this light, Polytheism is found to be a mere mixture and amalgamation of numberless local worships. In the same way we find that the ancient mythologies, those which date from the times of the earliest prophets and from the first colonies that came from Asia or Egypt, altered gradually, and at last disappeared altogether. In the days of Horace the sacred verses of the Salian priests were not understood, and the majority of the names known in the Rome of early days were then only known to the learned. The mythology of Homer was no longer the same as Hesiod's, and the traditions of Hesiod are modern in comparison with those which the author of the hymns attributed to Orpheus had taken from the Orphic initiations, and in which we find, amongst other deities, that first-born god Πρωτόγονος, whose title reminds us of the meaning of the name of the Supreme God in the language of Tibet, amongst the professors of Lamaism.*

Secondly., We must now take another step backwards in the history of civilization. We will place ourselves in the midst of a number of half-civilized tribes, speaking different languages or different dialects of the same language, and constantly in arms against each other, whether from a desire of plunder or in consequence of frequently recurring disputes as to the use in common of wells and pasture lands, or for the sake of mutual outrages and hereditary vengeances. Each tribe has its own deity, which is now hostile to the neighbouring deity, though once it was the same both in attributes,

* *Chaca boutta in*, in the language of Tibet means "only son," "first-born," according to M. Langlès. Thunberg's Voyage to Japan, vol. iii. See note, p. 258.

mythological history, and name. So long as the situation and customs by which the separation has been produced continue to keep up that separation, we shall find, as Ossian did when he was fighting the warriors of Lochlin, that the priests of the hostile nation will work prodigies of which they alone have the secret; and, although neither the existence nor the powers of the local deity will be questioned, yet at the same time it will be defied, just as the Caledonians, who had abjured the religion of the Druids, defied the spirit of Loda; or the people will try, as the Romans of old did, to *evoke* the deity, and to deprive those of its help who had staked all their hopes upon it.

Local deities limited in power.

Local deities, with their affections so exclusively centred in a single people, and answering only to names derived from the language of that people,* will be proportionately limited in power. One rules over the mountains, another over the valleys; public rights, in all transactions, sanction the principle that whatever country is allotted by the deity to its worshippers, and subdued by it in order to be given to them, belongs to them of right.

In China the spiritual guardian of a place occupies a position still farther removed from the sovereign power. When the inhabitants of a province or a village do homage to the deity by whom they are protected, they praise the respect and obedience paid by the guardian spirit to the emperor; and the latter grants an honorary title of more or less value to those of the spirits who have deserved his especial favour.†

* The spirits who obeyed magic incantations differed in the character of their submission. Some only obeyed Egyptian names, whilst others only obeyed Persian names. (Origen., contra Celsum, lib. i.)

† Asiatic Journal, vol. ii., pp. 172-174.

We cannot misunderstand this personification of the province or village, which, under the veil of its protecting spirit's name, boasts of its own loyalty, and receives its reward. And, similarly, do not the characteristics of a people's national divinity, differing as they do, materially from the attributes commonly assigned to the universal deity, belong to the allegorical representation of the social body? Hence, we are led inevitably to the belief that a nation has sometimes been deified, or rather identified with the local divinity, and on those grounds worshipped by generations, which, as they constantly succeed each other, secure the regular continuance of the worship. A political and religious fiction like the above, will very much resemble the one to which I have already alluded,* which turns the name of a country or people into a historical character, who becomes from that time the first ancestor of a countless posterity. More truly, then, than they thought themselves, do the worshippers of each divinity call themselves its children, like the warriors under the protection of Cruth-Loda. It is a remarkable expression frequently met with, even in cases where a positive creed does not view the divinity as the first king of the nation, or as the father of the entire population.

Origin of the name Quirites.

Who has not noticed, in the History of Rome, that the assembled citizens are addressed, not as Romans, but as Quirites? The custom may be traced back to the times when the Sabines joined the people of Romulus. The god Cures, Kurinus, or Quirinus, was the father of the founder of the City of Cures, where the Sabines were originally settled; he received from them the same honours that were paid to the God of War,†—that is to say, it was the same deity, only

* See above, § 7. † Dionys. Halic., lib. ii., c. xi.

transformed into a local one, and, moreover, it might still further be easily recognized by the first emblem under which it was worshipped, viz., *the offensive weapon*,* which was retained in the name. The Sabines introduced this worship into Rome. When the Romans had adopted it they gave the sacred name to their own founder, who was also descended from the God of War, and who had become a national god, a local divinity. They called him the new Quirinus,† and adopting the name of Quirites, which is derived from it, they represented themselves from that period as the peculiar people and children of the supreme arbiter of war and victory.

Like the God of War, the Sun, who is the father of so many religions, has been invoked by several nations as their father. Some families in Armenia, by whom this mode of worship has been retained to the present day, have also retained the name of Arevortis, Children of the Sun.‡ Like the God of War, the Sun has been transformed into a national divinity;§ Sabazius,‖ the Almighty Sun, the god who unites

* *Cures* means a lance in the Sabine tongue. Festus, under the word "Curis." Ovid. Fast., lib. ii., v. 477.

† Ovid. Ibid., vv. 475-512.

"Thura ferant, placantque *novum*, pia turba *Quirinum*."—V. 507.

‡ Chahan de Cirbied. Mémoire sur la Religion et le Gouvernement des anciens Arméniens, &c., p. 289.

§ *Az*, powerful, in the Pehlv'i dialect. *Zabzeba*, the reduplication of the root *zab* or *zeb*, is in Pehlv'i the name of the sun (Zend-Avesta, vol. ii., p. 503). In Arabic, Syriac, and Chaldee, *dab*, *deab*, *zeab*, gold, sun; *zeab*, it shines, in Chaldee; *zâab*, splendour.

‖ *Nama Sabazio*, worship to Sabazius, words written on a monument dedicated to Mithras, now in the Paris Museum. See J. G. Eichorn, De Deo sole invicto Mithra Comment. post (4to, Gottinguae, 1815), pp. 32, 33.

in himself both splendour and strength, was worshipped by the Medes, and solemnly addressed in the ceremonies of the worship of Mithras, as he was in Thrace and in Phrygia. But the Medes used to call the same divinity Sabazius and Medus.* So that the people, who worshipped the sun as their principal deity, did not hesitate to give him their national name, and by that very circumstance made him their own special divinity, their first king, their first ancestor.†

SECTION LXXIV.

A NATION OF DIVINITIES—THE ASES.

Early history of the Ases, and meaning of their name.

ONE nation went further still, and proclaimed its own apotheosis.

The Ases first appear on the shores of the Baltic, and announce themselves as gods to the conquered natives. God is the meaning of their national name in the mythology of Scandinavia. When Saxo-Grammaticus speaks of the gods, when he relates that the senate of the gods deprived one of the Odins of his divinity, and subsequently restored him to his former condition, he always means the Ases; and, as he says himself,‡ he merely

* "Sabazius igitur et Medus dicebatur," (J. G. Eichorn, ibid., p. 52. note A). In the Scholia on the Wasps of Aristophanes, vv. 9, 10, and 11, it is asserted positively. See also Scholia on v. 874, of the Birds, and the text in both passages. Medusa, who was represented by the Greeks as a frightful Gorgon, was originally an emblem of the Sun.

† According to the Greeks, the Medes were descended from Medus, the grandson of the Sun.

‡ Deos autem potius opinativè quam naturaliter dicimus; talibus namque, non naturâ, sed gentium more divinitatis vocabulum damus. Saxo-Grammaticus. Hist. Dan., lib. iii., p. 38.

translates the name by which they are known in other countries.

The name seems to have had a similar meaning in other places; Chosroes, the son of Hormisdas, reckoned amongst the titles which made him equal with the deity, that of Chief who has the Ases, or Asons,* in his pay; this is very like the title of King of the Gods, borne by Darius. Accordingly, Chosroes is a sovereign deity who has in his pay other deities inferior to himself.

In the majority of the Caucasian dialects, Caucasus may be translated by the words *Mountain of the Ases.*† In point of fact, Mount Caucasus was once believed to be the abode of the gods. Twenty centuries before our era the soul of Ara, who fell in a battle with Semiramis, was received among the gods on the summit of Mount Caucasus;‡ it was on the same mountain that one of the old gods of Greece took refuge, viz., Saturn, when pursued by Jupiter.§

When the Ases introduced their own idiom‖ together with their sacred forms, they found it necessary to make that idiom the prevailing dialect throughout the North, even as far as Saxony.¶ In order to accomplish this, they soon began

* Theophylact. Simocatt. Hist. Maurit., lib. iv., c. viii.

† *Khoh as*, the aspirate being pronounced with a harsh sound.

‡ Mos. Khoren., lib. i., c. 15. Chahan de Cirbied. Recherches Curieuses, &c., p. 170.

§ Treatise on the Rivers and Mountains, &c., attributed to Plutarch, c. v. and xix.

‖ Asae Woluspae, seu hos versus sybyllinos una cum idiomate ex Asia transportasse leguntur. (Gudmundus Andreae.)

¶ "The first Scandinavian lawgiver induced them to go on into Germania, as far as the country now occupied by the Franks." This was written by Jornandes during the former half of the sixth century. (De Rebus Geticis, c. xxxiii.)

to form matrimonial alliances* with the natives. Their power became more firmly rooted in the country, and the national language, like its religious creed, began to yield to their superior influence.† But the new ties which they had contracted contributed, together with their growing prosperity, to the loosening of other and older ties; in the earlier periods of their history the Ases had acknowledged the sovereignty of the senate of the gods, who were said by Saxo-Grammaticus to live at Byzantium, by which, I think, he must mean the shores of the Euxine Sea. From that senate they received their pontiff-kings; the new state formed itself into an incorporated nation, and the kings limited themselves to the worship of Odin, without troubling any foreign chiefs to represent him. From that time historians speak neither of their gods nor of their senate, but soon bring upon the scene the Hellespontiaci, or warriors of the Hellespont, who enter the territory of Scandinavia in arms, and being repulsed after a bloody conflict, are at a later period attacked in their own country and conquered by the Scandinavians. The weakness of the declining empire, even as early as the fifth century of our era, leaves us no grounds for supposing that the Greeks could thus have waged war on the shores of the Baltic. May we not, therefore, infer that the Hellespontiaci are the people from whom the Ases were descended, and who then began to make vain efforts to recover by force of arms an influence which they had lost when they changed their

* Ex indigenis ibi Asae uxores sibi et filiis suis delegerunt, ut hae familiae intra breve tempus per Saxoniam et totum orbem Arctoum dispergerentur, et lingua Asianorum facta esset propria et communis has terras incolentibus (Suorro Sturlae, Edda., c. iii., in fine).

† Odini et Asiaticorum immigratione antiqua lingua islandica insigniter mutata fuit (Olaus Verelius, in Notis ad Hist. Gothrici et Harolfi).

religion? In that case, the Hellespont of Saxo-Grammaticus would be the Cimmerian Bosphorus; the neighbouring districts were occupied by tribes whose idioms were derived from the same sources as the language of the Ases; and the name of the Aspungitani, who are said by Strabo to have been settlers on the shores of the Palus Mæotis, in the neighbourhood of the Bosphorus, probably means nothing more than the inhabitants of the kingdom of the Ases.*

Extent of the kingdom of the Goths at the time of the invasion of the Ases.

Whatever may be thought of the above conjecture, it will be readily granted that it is difficult to assign any very narrow limits to the territory occupied by the Goths at the period of the invasion of the Ases. The best informed geographers† make it extend from the shores of the Palus Mæotis to the Baltic Sea. Jornandes placed the Goths in Mœsia and Thrace. Philostratus seems to be describing the Walhalla of the Scandinavians when he places the shades of the warriors, who fought under the command of Protesilaus at Troy, in the Thracian Chersonesus, and speaks of them as ever clad in glittering armour and ever ready for the fray.‡

That a progressively advancing course led the conquerors of Scandinavia from Asia into Europe has never been questioned. Without believing, with Jornandes, that they were

* As *Vaonghe*, kingdom of the Ases, may easily have been changed into *Aspaonghe* and *Aspunghe*; the letter V in Zend words is often pronounced like P in the Pehlv'i dialect. If the word *Tania*, a country or sovereignty, be added to account for the word *Aspungitani*, it might have two meanings, of which there are frequent instances in the names of places derived from a foreign language. Strabo, lib. vii.

† Maltebrun. Atlas complet du précis de Géographie Universelle. See Maltebrun's Map of the Roman Empire under Trajan and Constantine.

‡ Philostrat., Heroic.

only returning to the country from which they had originally gone forth, it would be difficult not to admit with him also, that their ancestors can be traced amongst the nations who are subject to Taunasis, or Tanasis, the Tanaus of Justin.* The country over which Tanasis reigned extended from the foot of Mount Caucasus to the Palus Mæotis and to the Euxine, that is to say, to the very boundaries of those provinces into which the Goths penetrated when they left Asia; from that country the Ases must have proceeded. The name of the monarch, which seems to mean "Sovereign of the Ases,"† or "Chief of the Ases," would seem to warrant our identifying the national divinity of the Ases and the founder of their empire with the prince who was worshipped as a god after his death.‡ Moreover, the name "Mountain of the Ases," or Caucasus, was given by the subjects of Tanasis to the chain of mountains which extended from the countries that lie between the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea to the western frontiers of India, and were called by other nations by the various names of Taurus, Riphean Mountains, Imaüs, or Paropamisus.§

The western Caucasian range was not the boundary of the kingdom of Taunasis, or, in other words, of the empire of the Ases. After his victory over the King of Egypt‖ on the banks of the Phasis, Taunasis, or Tanaus, subdued nearly the whole of Asia; his subjects extended their dominion over Parthia and Bactria.¶ In those countries, in Sogdiana,

* Justin. Histor., lib. i., c. i.

† For the meaning of the word *Tan*, see § 60.

‡ Jornandes. De rebus Geticis., c. xxiii.

§ Ibid., c. xxv.

‖ Ibid., c. xxi.

¶ Justin., lib. i., c. i.; lib. ii., c. i. and iii.

Colchis, Armenia, Lazica,* and Scandinavia, men's names as well as the names of nations and places are still characterised by the name of the Ases. The existence of such names strengthens the suggestions of Jornandes, viz., that after the expedition of Taunasis, the warriors who had shared in his adventures established themselves in various parts of the vast districts which they had crossed in their march, and which they had filled with alarm by their daring feats of war. It is by no means absurd to derive the name of Asia from theirs, especially if we believe Justin's statement that the warriors of Tanaus retained the sovereign power in that portion of the old continent for a space of fifteen hundred years.†

Traces of the Ases long visible.

The Ases have not wholly disappeared from the surface of the globe. The Persian geographer Hhamd Oullah,‡ places the country of the Ases in Kaptchak, in the northern ex-

* Assacani, conquered by Alexander on his entrance into India (Arrian., De Exped. Alexandri, lib. iv., cc. 9, 10). Assaei, placed by Solinus (c. lii.) beyond the Issedones; Attasii, on the borders of Sogdiana, in Alexander's time. Asi, the masters of Sogdiana in the third century of our era (Saint Martin, Mémoires Historiques et Géographiques sur l'Arménie, vol. ii., p. 45.); the Scythian Aspasii, or Knights of the Ases, placed by Polybius (lib. x., c. 8) between the Tanais and the Oxus. Sainte-Croix, in his Examen des Historiens d'Alexandre, is right in thinking that in the above passage Iaxartes should be substituted for Tanais. The Lazi and Lazica were named after them. The Alazones on the west of the Borysthenes, on the banks of the Hypanis (Herod., lib. iv., c. 17); the Ascantii, Amasi, Ascomarci, Asuciandae, Asampatae, Evazae or Naevazae, tribes of Asiatic Sarmatia (Plin. Hist. Nat., lib. vi., c. 7); Aspungitani, on the shores of the Palus Mæotis (Strabo, lib. vii). Names of men, Azerethes, a Persian general (Procop. De bello Persico, lib., i., c. xviii.); Barases, a Perso-Armenian. (Procop. Miscellaneous Histories, c. xiii.) In Lazica, Gubases, Phartases. (Procop. Ibid., c. viii. Agathias. De rebus Justiniani.)

† Justin., lib. ii., c. iii. See § 75.

‡ Recherches Asiatiques, vol. ii. of the French translation, pp. 72, 73. See note.

tremity of Iran, near Muscovy and the Russian territory. In a somewhat similar, but more accurately defined position, J. Klaproth* thought he had discovered the Ases, or Iases, from whose name a portion of the Caucasian range was called the Iassic range. Better known in Europe by the name of Ossi, Osseti, or Assetintsi, they are settled on the east and at the foot of Mount Elbrouz, in the very spot where the traveller, Joseph Barbaro, in the fifteenth century saw certain people who were called Alani by others, but who called themselves Ases.†

In the language of the Ases, or Ossi, Khogh means a mountain; this seems conclusive as regards the etymology of the name Caucasus, Khogh-as.

More recently the Ases have adopted the name Iron, or Iran; it is the native name for Media and Persia, and is the same in meaning as the old name of the Medes. Their language is extremely like the Persian and the Danish tongue, which gradually prevailed in Scandinavia under the immediate influence of the Ases, and which is more nearly allied to the Persian language than the German, or than any other Teutonic dialect.‡

In Persia, in all the countries where the Ases effected a settlement, in the district where one of their last remaining tribes is still in existence, the prevailing language has long been the Pehlv'i, from which the Persian is derived, and many of the words of which§ are still retained by the Ases or Osseti.

* Nouvelles Annales des Voyages, vol. xvi., pp. 243-256.

† Ibid., vol. xvi., pp. 250, 251; Ramusio, vol. ii., fol. 29.

‡ See the New Danish Dictionary published in 1811.

§ The language of the Osseti is also allied to the Zend and other languages derived from it. See Nouvelles Annales des Voyages, vol. xvi., pp. 246, 247; and a Vocabulary of the Language of the Osseti, Voyages

The word As is a Pehlvi word, and means powerful;* it must have been one of the first selected to express the idea of deity, so well characterised by the attribute of Almighty.† But power belongs to a warlike nation as well, hence the same name may be adopted and introduced into countries over which its victories have extended. It cannot be wondered at that the Ases claimed descent from the gods at a later period, when they were settled near an ignorant and subjugated people; for although they may not have been taught by their religion (which, like that of so many other Scythian and Tartar tribes, was no doubt founded upon Lamaism),‡ that the chiefs to whom they owed their national name were so many incarnations of the deity, yet their great power and military successes seemed by analogy to justify a title which had been given to the divinity for similar reasons. This kind of pride has always been one of the most fertile sources of national names, by which I mean the names which nations give to themselves.

Historiques et Géographiques dans les Pays situés entre la Mer Noire et la Mer Caspienne, pp. 69-72. Let it be observed, that Pehlvi is the earliest language that was formed from the Zend.

* Az-dewtchere or Az-dewdjur, the powerful Dew of jealousy, of desire (Zend-Avesta, vol. ii., p. 384). Azad-brakht, powerful king.

† Zumbi, name of the deity worshipped by a great number of negro tribes, means powerful.

‡ See § 71.

SECTION LXXV.

VARIOUS SOURCES FROM WHICH NATIONAL NAMES, *i.e.*, NAMES GIVEN BY NATIONS TO THEMSELVES, ARE DERIVED: I. A DESIRE TO GIVE GREATER PROMINENCE TO THEIR CHARACTERISTIC GOOD QUALITIES, MILITARY EXPLOITS, POWER, ETC.

Sources of national names.

MAN is seldom privileged to give himself a name, but when he does give himself one, the fear of ridicule or of its being flatly contradicted makes him modest in his choice. Accordingly, each individual will be willing to stake his own reputation and personal feelings of vanity on the mass of society in general; the nation of which he forms a part will always be spoken of in terms of eulogy, and its noblest, most brilliant, and most imposing qualities, must be expressed by the national name. The Goths—like the Ases, who were descended from their vast family—bore a name which, properly, belonged to the Deity, and which was more especially intended to express the attribute of Goodness.*

Names which allude to greatness of character, &c.

The Bakthiaris, a Khurd population, are, *the fortunate people, the favourites of fortune.* According to Schlegel,† the name of the Herules may be derived from the Sanskrit, Eorl'as, chiefs; and the name of the military caste in India, the Rajpoots, means literally, the sons of kings. A tribe of Gauls, who were conquered in the Alps by Drusus, were called Brenni‡ or Kings.

* *Got*, God. *Gut*, good.

† Indische bibliothek., n. 2, vol. i., p. 233, &c.

‡ Horat. Od., lib. iv., Od. xiv., v. 11.

Ullah,* that is, powerful or honourable man, is the interpretation of the Wallachian name. The general title, Sclave, which includes so many subdivisions of other nations, means glory, glorious, or illustrious.† By some strange fatality the name is now used in several European languages to designate the most terrible and abject state to which a nation can be degraded, viz., that of slavery.‡

The Furious (Chorraei), the Charitable (Raphaïm), the Strong-giants (Zuzim), the Terrible-giants (Emim), were the names of the four Arabian hordes which were conquered by Chedorlaomer,§ before he fought with the kings of Pentapolis.

Names implying freedom.

The barbarians who founded the kingdom of Sennaar exchanged the name of Shillooks for that of Funges, which means conquerors or free citizens;‖ and with a double inconsistency, the chiefs of the Funges are proud of styling themselves the slaves of a monarch who, by the laws of the country, can put them to death at any moment.

Ardent in their love of liberty, the proud conquerors of Gaul were called Franks, *i.e.*, Free. They were truly so. May the beautiful country that has inherited their name always retain its glorious meaning! A tribe of Gauls had already proclaimed its independence in a similar way; when

* Fortis. Voyage en Dalmatie, vol. i., pp. 70, 71. In the Sclavonic language, the letter *h* has a very guttural sound. As will shortly be seen, this derivation is questioned.

† Fortis. Ibid., vol. i., pp. 70, 71.

‡ In English, slave; in French, esclave; in Spanish, esclavo; in Italian, schiavo. As regards so extraordinary a change, see § 84.

§ Genesis xiv. 5, 6. For the explanation of the two last names, I have followed the remarks of Sir W. Drummond, in his notes on the passage. The Œdipus Judaicus (8vo., London, 1811), p. 47, and following pages.

‖ Bruce. Travels to discover the Sources of the Nile, vol. viii., pp. 399-402.

Cæsar spoke of them as the Eleutherii,* he had probably translated their national name.

Names implying a shepherd life.

The Berebers, who live near Morocco and Algiers, dignify themselves, not without reason, with the title of Free.† In that land of slavery their nomad and destitute mode of existence secures their independence. A race of shepherds, they belong to that great family the tribes of which exhibit their fierceness and courage and feed their flocks in the vast tracts by which Egypt and the Isthmus of Suez are divided from the coasts of Barbary; nearly all of them bear names descriptive of their mode of life.‡ Galla,§ Balous, Zilla, Habab, Berberi, Barabra,‖ Suah or Sô,¶ &c., are all words that signify shepherds. So we find a nation as proud of being a nation of shepherds** as it is of its independence. The one is synonymous with the other; they look upon the tillers of the soil as slaves, whose labour binds them irrevocably to the land they till.

* Cæsar. De bello Gallico., lib. viii., c. xiv.

† Amzir, singular; Mazir, plural. The letter *R* is pronounced very like a hard *g*. They are the Mazighs or Amazighs of the Greek writers. (Volney, L'Hébreu simplifié, &c. Œuvres Complètes, vol. viii., pp. 508, 509.

‡ Bruce. Travels to discover the Sources of the Nile, vol. ii., pp. 189-191, &c.

§ Bruce. Ibid., p. 226.

‖ Bruce. Ibid., pp. 189, 190.

¶ Bruce. Ibid., pp. 191, 193, 194. Bruce derives the name of the Isthmus of *Suez* from Suah. I am of opinion that Musuah and Suakem are similarly derived.

** Vlach or Vlachi, in Albanian, means shepherds; this, says Pouqueville, is the national name of the nomad Wallachians; the names given to them by both Turks and Greeks have the same meaning, (Pouqueville, Voyage dans la Grèce, vol. ii., pp. 151 and 208-211). M. Constantin Polychroniades, a native of the canton of Zagori, in Epirus, whom I consulted on the subject, denies that Vlach ever meant shepherd in the

What were the Hycsos or Agsos, the conquerors of Egypt, but armed shepherds.* Agag (Agagi or Agazzi in the plural) at one time meant a tribe,† at another a whole nation;‡ the tribe of the chief-warriors, the people of the armed forts. Ag is no doubt used in the same sense, and is the root in the name of the Agows§ of Damot and Lasta. It is not uncommon to find a proper name expressive of the warlike character of the people who bear it. Warlike names.

The Gauls who were settled on the banks of the Orne were called "fighting men," *Cadeti;* they derived their name from Cath or Cad, war or battle, a name which the Saxons, who mixed with them, have retained in Cath-burgum (Cabourg), and Cath-heim or Cathom, the oldest name of the town of Caen. Literally, those names signify respectively, the town or the home of the Caths or Cads, in other words, "of the warriors."

The name Kymbry, which belonged to the Cimbri, meant warrior in the old Teutonic tongue; the old Danish word, Kiemper, is still used in the same sense.‖ After a successful

Schyp or Albanian language. It is just possible that the occupation of those Wallachians who, during the summer months, lead their flocks and herds to the heights of Mount Pindus, and come down again into the valleys in autumn, may, in some cantons, have led to the giving of the name Wallachians to all nomad shepherds, so that the names have become synonymous.

* Bruce. Travels to discover the Sources of the Nile, vol. ii., p. 194. Agsum or Axum, city, fortress of armed shepherds (Ibid., p. 195).

† Bruce. Ibid., p. 194. Agag, name of a King of Amalek, an Arabian shepherd.

‡ Bruce. Ibid., pp. 194, 195. The Gallas, who extended their conquests south of the line, are also called Agagi (Ibid., p. 226).

§ Agoha, shepherds of the river, according to Bruce (Ibid., p. 224). It would be more accurately translated, warriors of the river.

‖ Malte-Brun. Précis de la Géographie universelle (5 vols. 8vo, Paris, 1810-1817), vol. i., p. 239.

invasion of Gaul,* the Tongri assumed the name of Germans or men of war, in order to intimidate the vanquished people, and this name soon became the characteristic title of the whole nation, of which they only formed a part. The name of the Marsi must originally have been derived from the name of the God of War.

A desire to impress others with a kind of awe for their martial character is natural to all people; and, although our reason may sometimes rebel against and feel humiliated by the fact, yet it is none the less true, both in the case of a number of people and of a single individual, that immunity from misfortune, and the possession of the esteem and respect of others, are less the result of the virtues which usually command them, than of a certain power and influence which inspires dread.

A learned writer of Ragusa derives the national name of the Illyrians from the Sclavonic Hrli or Hirli,† *i.e.*, prompt, active warriors; it is curious to remark that such is the character ascribed to them by Livy.‡ It was only natural that they should be proud of a quality which is frequently more formidable in battle than mere physical strength.

From Souro or Zour, strength, power, armed force, the names Syrian and Assyrian§ were formed. The Pehlv'i or Hosvarzan language is that of the heroes or men of strength.‖ The people who spoke it formerly were called Hosvaresh, the strong, the heroes.¶ They even received the

* Tacitus. De moribus Germanorum, c. ii.

† Appendini. Notizie istorico-critiche sulla antichità, storia e letteratura de' Ragusei, vol. i., p 24.

‡ Tit. Liv. Hist., lib. xxxi., c. 35.

§ Saint-Martin. Mémoires sur l'Arménie, vol. i., pp. 276, 277.

‖ Saint-Martin. Ibid., p. 276. Pelhou, a hero, strong, hardy.

¶ Zend-Avesta, vol. ii., p. 429; and Saint-Martin, Mémoires sur l'Arménie, vol. i., pp. 276, 277.

title of giants, by which Moses Choronensis* always describes them.

The Medes had once taken the name of Arii, *i.e., the valiant.*† To this day the Armenians call the Persians Arik'h, and in their language Ari means valiant or strong; in Zend, Aeriao is used in the same sense.‡

This also, if I mistake not, is the root of the word Aria, which, in the sacred books of Hindustan, describes all those countries where the national religion prevailed.

It has been sometimes thought that the name Asia is similarly derived, by the substitution of *r* for *s*, of which there are instances to be found in many languages.§ This etymology only *seems* to differ from the one I have already suggested. The Armenian Ari and the Arioi of the Medes have the same meaning as As in the Pehlv'i dialect; it is most likely that the change of *r* into *s* took place in the radical word, and that As and Ari are, in point of fact, identical the one with the other.

It is, at any rate, a matter of certainty that an enormous

* Saint-Martin. Mémoires sur l'Arménie, vol. i., p. 277.

† Herodotus, lib. vii., c. lxii.

‡ Saint-Martin. Mémoires sur l'Arménie, vol. i., p. 275.

§ The names of several Roman families had been changed inversely; the family of Papirius was formerly called Papisius (Cicero. Epist. ad famil., lib. iv., ep. xxi.); Aurelius had been Auselius (S. Pompeius Festus, under the word "Aureliam"); Valerius and Furius had been Valesius and Fusius (Sigon. de nomin. Rom.) Varro (De Linguâ Latinâ, lib. vi., c. iii.) quotes several Latin words in which the letter *r* has been substituted for the letter *s*. Servius, in Æneid., lib. i., v. 253, remarks that the Latin poets have frequently changed *r* into *s*, saying Arbos for Arbor, &c. *S* is very commonly changed into *r* in the dialect of Poitou; the people say, *il ertait*, instead of *il estait*, an old form of what is now written *il était*. (Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de France, vol. i., pp. 199-201.)

tract of country was formerly included under the name Aria, that it comprehended even Egypt and the island of Crete;* that the root of this word has been repeated in a great number of men's names, Scythians, Medes, and Persians;† also, in the names of places, such, for instance, as in Aria and Ariana, mentioned by Greek historians, and in Ariema, the scene of Zoroaster's earliest teaching; further, that it can be traced in the names of people who are separated from each other by great distances of time and place; for example, in those of the Arii or Ariani,‡ who were nearly allied to the Assyrians, both in language and in customs, and who were formerly possessed of a widely spread influence: in that of the Tocarii, who were placed by Ptolemy in Bactria; in that of the Candarii and Comarii, mentioned by Pomponius Mela;§ in the names of the Satagarii and the Vidioarii, quoted by Jornandes; and of the Chasarii, mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogenitus. To these we may add, the Medarii, whose revolt was put down by Alexander in Thrace, whilst his father was besieging Byzantium;‖ the Bulgarians or Arii on the banks of the Volga, the Tatars, the inhabitants of Bokhara, the Magyars, and lastly, the Chorsarii, a name which, according to Pliny,¶ was given to the Scythians by the Persians.

The translator of Pliny suggests, with great ingenuity and with better grounds for his suggestion than usual, that the Teutonic word, *Horse*, may be traced in the first syllable of

* A. Gellius. Noct. Attic., lib. xiv., c. vi.

† Toxaris, Abaris, Ariobarzanes, Ariomardes, Ariaspes, Ariamenes, Ariarathes, Mod-ares—a descendant of the kings of Scythia (Zosim., lib. iv.), &c.

‡ Strabo, lib. i.

§ Pompon. Mela, lib. i., c. ii.

‖ Plutarch, in Alexandr., c. xi.

¶ Plin. Hist. Nat., lib. vi., c. xvii.

the word Chorsarii,* when pronounced with a strong aspirate, such as the one formerly prefixed to Louis and Lothario; similar, also, to the aspirate which, during the middle ages, changed the name Hosvaresh into Khovaresae. Hence the Chorsarii were brave, valiant horsemen. The name is used in the same sense as that of Ariaspes,† the son of Artaxerxes Mnemon; it was too appropriate a description of the mode of fighting between the Medes and the Persians not to be a national name.

All nations whose main dependence in war for effective service rests upon their cavalry, might assume a similar name; hence, again, I should be tempted to derive the name of the Marcomanni‡ in a similar manner, without troubling myself about any inference respecting the common or distinct origin of the two nations.

Some writers have seriously maintained, that the national name of the Gauls and Celts was derived from a word which signifies *stranger*.§ Unable, however, as I am to understand what association of ideas could induce a nation to call themselves Strangers, I am inclined to derive the name Gaul (Gallus) and Gael from Gallu, or Galluedd, powerful, strong;‖ and Celt from Caled, *i. e.*, enduring, indefatigable, daring.

* Poinsinet de Sivry. Histoire naturelle de Pline, traduction française (12 vols. 4to, Paris, 1771-1782), vol. ii., p. 684).

† Plutarch. In Artaxerx., c. xxxvii.

‡ The Celtic word, Marc'h, horse, had been introduced into Germany. In the old German laws, Marach or March means horse, and March-Falli, a fall from a horse. Respecting these two words, see the Glossary of Ducange.

§ Caël.

‖ Richards. Welsh and English Dictionary, under the words "Gallu, Galluus, Galluog."

This is the root in Caledonia,* literally, the mountainous country of the strong and daring. It is also found similarly used in a proverb common in Brittany, and appropriately applied to the first grenadier of the French army, Corret-Latour-d'Auvergne, "Got callet densan Armoriq"—He is a hardened warrior of Armorica.†

SECTION LXXVI.

THE WORDS "FAMILY," "GATHERING OF MEN," ARE ANOTHER SOURCE OF NAMES OF NATIONS.

The simple word "family" is the source of some names of nations.

THE Welsh still retain the old name of the nation of which they originally formed a part; they call themselves Kymry, and seem to have been uniformly consistent in the practice.‡ It was only natural that an attempt should be made to connect their name with that of the Cimbri, and that an inference should be drawn that both nations were descended from one common origin; but however true it may be that the existence of a tribe of Celts can be traced in Scandinavia, we cannot think that they can be connected with the Cimbri. In addition to the sound reasonings of a learned geographer,§ who combats the notion that the Cimbri were a Celtic people, I may mention the following fact. Amidst the vast multitude conquered by Marius, Festus‖ establishes a

* Richards. Welsh and English Dictionary, under the word "Caled."

† See the notice on Corret-Latour-d'Auvergne, printed with the Antiquités Gauloises (1 vol. 8vo, Paris, 1801), p. 1.

‡ Richards. Welsh and English Dictionary. See the word "Cymro." In p. 3 the writer remarks that although sometimes written with a *C*, it must always be pronounced as if it were *K*.

§ Malte-Brun. Précis de la Géographie Universelle, vol. 1., pp. 238, 239.

‖ S. Pompeius Festus. See under the word "Ambrones."

distinction between the Ambrones, a people of Gaul, the Teutones and the Cimbri, whence we conclude that the last were a totally separate and distinct nation from the two first named.

If we bear in mind the true meaning of the name of the Sclaves, we shall feel inclined to connect that of the Kymry with a word meaning esteem or dignity;* but I think it far more rational to derive it from Cymrhain, family.† This is undoubtedly another instance of a name given by a nation to itself; it is perhaps the oldest; *we, the family,* the *gathering of people, the men:* an isolated race can only realize its existence by some such collective idea as the above. The title *man* precedes all others. The first ancestor of the Teutones was Man, Mannus, a man;‡ and one of that same nation's names, which the Latins converted into Alamani,§ corresponded most likely with some word which meant the gathering of *all men; men,* that is, in the sense of being superior to all others in valour. The term *men* may be traced in the names of the Guanches,‖ the Mardi,¶ the natives of Illinois,**

* Richards. Welsh and English Dictionary, under the word "Cymmyrred."

† Ibid. See the word "Cymrhain."

‡ Tacitus. De moribus Germanorum, c. ii.

§ Some writers are of opinion that the word Alamani is originally derived from *Ald,* signifying noble, and *man;* this, however, is an etymology which might be classed with some others quoted in the last chapter.

‖ *Guan,* man; *Guana,* country; *Guancheinerf,* native of Teneriffe. See the Guanche Vocabulary, given by Clavijo in his Noticiao de la Historia General de las Islaś de Canaria, vol. i., p. 129.

¶ Saint-Martin. Mémoires sur l'Arménie, vol. i., pp. 275, 276. The same word enters into the construction of several men's names: Ariomardes, Mardonius, Mardontes, &c.

** Laffitteau. Mœurs des Sauvages Américains (4 vols. 12mo, Paris, 1724), vol. i., p. 43.

the Guegues,* and the Mirdites,† Albanian tribes. *Men*, or *people*, are the titles adopted by the Tunguses, under the name Oevon, to the east of the river Yenisei,‡ and by the Siberians under the names Boya and Donké.§

The Kamtchadales call themselves *Itelmen*, or inhabitants.‖ The national name of the Teutones is derived from *Theot*, signifying a multitude, or great concourse of people. These are all the result of a similar idea. *Casgl*,¶ or *Cass*,** in Celtic means a meeting, an assembly. This last word, which is analogous to the one from which the name of the Cymri is derived, became the name of the Cassi,†† who were reduced to submission by Cæsar during his expedition to the shores of England: it also formed the root of several names of the various tribes of Gaul; and I do not think we shall be far

* Guegueri, *the man*, in the Schyp dialect (Pouqueville, Voyage dans la Grèce, vol. ii., p. 620). *Vla*, in the same dialect, means brother (Ibid., pp. 611–619). This is, perhaps, the true derivation of the Wallachian name.

† Pouqueville. Ibid., vol. ii., p. 620.

‡ Wagner. Mémoires sur la Russie, p. 193. Œvon, man.

§ Jules Klaproth. Notice on the Origin of the Mandshus. Nouvelles Annales des Voyages, vol. ix., p. 141. *Boya*, *Boye*, *Byé*, men; *Donké*, people.

‖ Kracheuninikow. History of Kamtchatka, first part, pp. 3, 4.

¶ Casgl, meeting, assembly; Casglu, to meet, to assemble together. (Richards. Welsh and English Dictionary.)

** Cyd (cy in composition and before a vowel c') is the same as the Latin con, and means *together*, the act of uniting or putting together; *as* is the same as *ys*, an augmentative word. (Richards, ibid.) *C'as*, many men together; *Glynn*, to fasten, to join tightly; *Caslynan*, a nation, a multitude firmly united together.

†† Cæsar. De bello Gallico, lib. v., c. vii. The name of the chief who was conquered by Cæsar in this expedition, *Caswallawn* (Richards, ibid.), and translated into Latin as Cassivelanus, has the same root, and seems to mean "Defence of the tribe."

from the truth if we recognise the expressions, *meetings*, the tribes of the *most valiant*, of the *skilful*, and of *fishers with nets*, in the following names:—the Trecassians (inhabitants of Troyes),* the Vellocassians (inhabitants of the Norman Vexin), and the Baiocassians (inhabitants of Bayeux).†

SECTION LXXVII.

NAMES OF TRIBES ARE DERIVED: FIRST, FROM THE NATIONAL NAME; SECONDLY, FROM CERTAIN LOCALITIES; THIRDLY, FROM THE NAME OF THEIR CHIEF OR EARLIEST ANCESTOR; FOURTHLY, FROM PECULIAR POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS; FIFTHLY, FROM RELIGIOUS OR WARLIKE EMBLEMS.

THE last names mentioned imply that important divisions had already been established in the great family of man, and that the several tribes knew of each other's existence, and sought to distinguish themselves from the rest by some peculiar title.

Instances of names derived from the national name.

A slight addition only to the national name would sometimes be sufficient to effect this. Volney's theory is, that the Massagetae were formerly called Maha-Sagatai, *i. e.*, the *great* Getae, the *great* Scythians;‡ similarly, the name of the

* *Trech*, stronger, more powerful; *trecched*, to fight. (Richards. Welsh and English Dictionary.) Bullet remarks that the *Trecassians* meant *very brave*.

† *Ffel*, clever, cunning, wary; *Ffelaig*, a general in chief. *Balleg*, a large net, a snare (Richards, ibid.) N.B. The double *l* is pronounced as in the French words *D'ailleurs*, *Maille*.

‡ Volney. Discours sur l'étude philosophique des Langues. Œuvres complètes, vol. i., p. 425.

Amardi meant the *great* Mardi; both tribes probably owed their name to a superiority of strength or numbers over the families of the rest of the Mardi and Getae.

Names derived from localities.

To the national name of Arii, the Bulgarians, as we have seen, added the name of the river, the waters of which they drank.*

A system of nomenclature thus derived from the place of abode is the most natural of all: the natives of New Holland adopt it in preference to all others, with the addition of the syllable *gal* (which means, meeting or tribe) to the name of the place they have settled in; as, for instance, Gwearl-gal, a tribe who live in Gwea, on the southern coast of Botany Bay:†

The name of the Durocassians (inhabitants of the canton of Dreux) should probably be derived from Deru (δρῦς) an oak, for the country was celebrated for its oak forests, sacred to the national worship of the people. It is a remarkable circumstance that in the modern name, the first part only has been retained; and it has been frequently observed in other cases that the national name, the earliest distinguishing title of the *men*, or the *tribe*, or the *warriors*, is in a manner understood, and thus that the name derived from the place of abode is the only one used. The Hernici were so called from Herna,‡ a rock or mountain, to distinguish them from the Æqui, or Æquicolae, who lived in the plain. They were two distinct tribes in one and the same nation, just as there are Highlanders and Lowlanders in Scotland.

* The Volga.

† Abridged edition of Pinkerton's Modern Geography, vol. ii., p. 297. Collins' account of the English Colonies in South Wales, second edition.

‡ Servius in Æneid., lib. vii., v. 684. S. Pompeius Festus, under the word "Hernici."

The name of the Aghovans signifies gentleness; they owe to the charming character and climate of their country a title which forms such a strong contrast with their usual habits of life.* The nomad tribes, known to us as the Ostiakes, call themselves Kondichos, or dwellers on the banks of the river Konda.† The wandering hordes of the Nogáis adopt the name of the most remarkable spot in the neighbourhood of the new settlement where they have pitched their tents.‡

It is quite possible that two tribes should choose the same name, on the ground either of military fame, valour, or power; but it is far more probable, when two tribes do bear the same name, that the appellation was derived from the place in which they lived. The first conspicuous objects that meet the view, which no doubt originally determined the name of a country, may constantly be reproduced under similar circumstances, consequently they may also be frequently repeated. A low and marshy district in Yorkshire, often inundated by the rising waters of the Hull and the Humber, and shut in by the banks of those two rivers, was formerly inhabited by the Parisii; the name of their town, Petuaria,§ seems to indicate a place planted with birch trees. The Parisii in Gaul occupied a low and marshy district on the two banks of the Seine, whose rapidly rising waters frequently overflowed; woods, sheets of water, marshes, covered the neighbourhood; in the city to which the Parisii

* Saint Martin. Mémoires sur l'Arménie, vol. i., p. 214.

† Wagner. Mémoires sur la Russie, p. 193.

‡ Tooke. Russia, vol. ii., p. 172.

§ The Greeks and Romans not unfrequently changed the *B* in Gallic words into *P*. Petuaria, which seems to correspond with the French name of a place, La Bedoyère, may therefore be derived from *Bedu*, birch, and signify the place where birches abound.

have given their name, a thickly populated district is still called the Marais, or marshy place; the cultivated lands which surround it, and which supply its immense markets with the choicest vegetable products, are also called Marais. The characteristic similarity between the two places, warrants the inference that the same name in the two localities was derived from the same sources. Baris (as the Celts pronounced the word)* denotes a tract of country situated under woods, a low district, lower in level than the surrounding country, and overgrown with bushes.†

Here, however, it should be noticed that in the case of the Celts who lived on the banks of the Hull and the Seine, Parisii was nothing more at first than a surname joined to their national name, and borrowed from some other locality which had already received the same appellation. It is most important in our examination of the names of people, that we should exercise great caution before we admit the derivation of such as are said to be founded on local peculiarities. If the name happen to imply relative position to some other country or nation, the etymology may almost invariably be rejected. A people does not place itself, nor does it speak of itself as placed on the east or the west of some other people; each individual nation is the centre of its own horizon. The inhabitants of Delphi looked upon their city as the centre of the earth; the Hebrews gave the same place of honour to their own city, Jerusalem. At the present day the Arabs, Chinese, and Hindus call their respective chief cities the

* Eloi Johanneau, Vocabulaire Etymologique; Monuments Celtiques, by Cambry, p. 361.

† Richards. Welsh and English Dictionary. *Bar*, bush, thicket; *Is*, nether, low; as, for example, Netherlands; or again, *Is*, below, under.

centre of the world. It is acknowledged to be the case in Cairo, in Mecca, Benares, Nankin,* &c. The Mongols† call Tibet the Right Hand, and the country of the Mandshus the Left Hand. Whenever the name of a people expresses relative position, it may be safely inferred that such a title has been given to them (perhaps without their knowledge) by some other tribe or cluster of settlers, with regard to whom they hold that particular position.

If there be any exception to this rule, it will be found in the case of the metropolis, when some rising colony and tribe are induced by a religious feeling to fix their own place on the earth, by the direction in which they have to turn towards the mother city, which is hallowed to them by a common creed. Sometimes also it may happen that a chief makes a distinction between the hordes that submit to his rule, viz., those whose tents are pitched on the south, as distinct from those which are pitched on the north; these, however, are only secondary methods of naming, introduced far more recently than the primitive form; in a word, they are mere *surname.*

Names derived from that of the chief or leader.

Accordingly we find that, whenever interested motives for the definitely fixed use of a name do *not* exist, that name will be subject to endless variations. The Nogáis, who change their names as frequently as they do their places of settlement, commonly adopt the name of the chief who acts as their leader.‡ The same custom obtains amongst the Brazilian tribes.§ A powerful and famous chief may make his

* Volney. L'Hébreu Simplifié par la Méthode Alphabétique, Œuvres complètes, vol. viii., p. 353.

† Reuilly. Description du Thibet (8vo, Paris, 1808), pp. 4, 5.

‡ Tooke. Russia, vol. ii., p. 172.

§ Relation du Voyage de Roulox-Baro, &c., 51st Observation, by Morisot, pp. 278, 279.

name more or less lasting. At the commencement of the fourteenth century, the Usbeks took the name of their prince, who was sixth in descent from Chingis-Khán.* The Nogáis had already borne the name of the chief who, marching at their head in the year 1259, secured their independence from the Mongolian conqueror's successors.† The Turkish hordes which were constantly attacking the Greek empire at the close of the thirteenth century—the Alisyrians, Alaidæ, Salampaxides, Amir-Amani, and Atmani‡—all furnish clear instances of names derived from those of their chiefs. Eight centuries earlier, the Ephtalitæ, or Ephtalani, had borrowed the name by which they are known in history, from their then king.§ According to Procopius,‖ the Goths, Vandals, Alani, and Gepidae were all the same nation, and merely distinguished from each other by the names of their princes. Of the Tribes of Gaul which in olden times had invaded Asia, five adopted the names of their chiefs, because they had led them on to glory and to fame.¶ The Tectosages alone retained their national name. We may go farther back still; to the period when, fifteen years after the return of the Heraclidæ,

* Lévesque. Histoire de Russie, vol. ii., p. 167.

† Lévesque. Ibid., vol. viii., pp. 310, 311. Pachymeres (lib. v., c. iv.) calls the same chief Nogas. The derivation of the name Nogái is a disputed question. Eastern writers class the Nogáis with the people who were conquered in 1223 by the generals of Chingis-Khán. The original name may possibly have applied with equal significance to a people and an individual.

‡ Pachymeres, lib. xi., c. ix., the author quotes the instance of a Turkish chief called Atmanes.

§ Ephtalanus enim Ephtalitarum *rex, a quo et appellationem universum genus traxit.* Theophan. Byzant. Histor., lib. x., apud Photium, cod. lxiv.

‖ Procopius. De bell. Vandalic., lib. i., c. ii.

¶ Poinsinet de Sivry. Histoire Naturelle de Pline, lib. v., c. xxxii., vol. ii., pp. 601, 602.

the Myrmidones were called Thessalians, from the name of Thessalus their leader, a young warrior of Thesprotia. Velleius,* who records the fact, finds great fault with the poets for having used the terms Thessalians and Thessaly, in connection with the period of the Trojan war. His criticisms are mainly directed against the tragedians; the characters of a drama, he remarks, should always speak consistently with the manners and customs of the times in which they lived. His observation is a just one, and is susceptible of more than one useful application; and yet Racine was right in representing Achilles as a king of Thessaly. It was the only method by which he could secure the general comprehension of modern hearers, and avoid the ridiculous idea connected with the name Myrmidones.

The return of the Heraclidæ is so intimately connected with the heroic days of Greece, that we cannot refuse all credence to the various traditions which relate that, in those remote periods, the tribes used to change their names whenever the fortunes of war, or the frequently disturbed order of succession, caused a change in their leaders.

A community of name between a tribe and its chief may be made still more lasting. When preceded by *Beni* (children of), or by *Clan* (born of), men's names become similar to those borne by the Hebrew, Arab, and Scotch tribes. The name is retained even after the families of strangers have been admitted into their number, and become incorporated with them—families, it may be, who represent but the remains of other tribes now destroyed, or scattered far and wide by the effects of time, war, or disease; in such cases the newly admitted members of the associated body are not the most

* Velleius. Hist., lib. i.

backward in boasting of their relationship to the earliest ancestor. It was this principle, in the Highlands of Scotland, which knit the ties of the feudal power so firmly together, and made them so strong; at the same time it alleviated its disadvantages and mitigated its severity in the common everyday intercourse of man with man.

We find here a *second* explanation of the traditions which state that, in less than two centuries, a single chief had become the ancestor of many thousands of men. I say a *second* explanation, for it must be borne in mind that the supposed chief is frequently the name only of the people or land transformed into a real historical character.

Names derived from laws and social institutions.

The laws and social institutions which invariably regulate the conduct of all associations of men, may, in addition, have an influence upon the names which these associations may choose to adopt. Bruce* suggests as a possibility that, amongst the shepherd tribes, some names were used to denote a distinction of castes.

The ancient Germans,† says Tacitus, were divided into three great classes, each of which adopted a name that should remind them of one of the sons of Mannus, their first ancestor; the Ingaevones, the Herminones, and the Istaevones. The first he places somewhere near the German ocean; if we follow his description, and that given by Pliny,‡ we shall find the Ingaevones again on the coasts of the Baltic, and the Istaevones on the banks of the Lower Rhine. The two names have consequently been derived from the word *vohnen*, to inhabit; to which, in the first instance, is added the word

* Bruce. Voyage to the Sources of the Nile, vol. ii., pp. 189-191.

† Tacitus. De Moribus Germanorum, c. ii.

‡ Pliny. Hist. Nat., lib. iv., c. xiii. and xiv.

inge or *enge*, meaning a strip of land or belt, greater in length than in width; and in the second case, a root-word which enters into the composition of names usually met with in the lower portion of the Danube's course, such as Ister and Istria, meaning a low-level beach, as opposed to the mountainous parts of the district. But then, why not *Istraevones?* And further, the name Herminones is still unexplained. Is it quite certain, however, that the classes or divisions spoken of by Tacitus are geographical divisions at all, and may they not rather refer to political institutions?

The compiler of the fragments of Berosus connects Ingaevon, who was king of the Teutones,* with Sarron, who, in the time of Ninias, taught the Gauls the first elements of civilization. The Talmudists have retained a similar tradition; and, as they consider that Ingaevon is the lawgiver of his fellow countrymen, they translate his name into Hebrew, in the following words, "The man who gives uncertain habitations;"† because, said they, he always kept his subjects in a nomadic state, and did not allow them to settle in towns. In the Teutonic language, the same name contains a meaning which is far more in accordance with the character it describes; in that, it signifies "the law‡ of the cultivated fields;"§ hence

* Berosus. Antiquit. Babyl., lib. v.

† Aediculus incertus. See the Commentary of Annius on the passage in the work of Berosus.

‡ Ducange. Glossary—under the word "Euva." Euva, lex, or law, vox germanica vetus—Euva Saxonum. Euve in legibus Germanicis. Efa in lege Salicâ; see also the words "Landoefa and Landefeva"—law of the land, law of the country. In the capitularies of Charlemagne (lib. iii., c. lxv.) Secundum Legem et Euvam. Euvaric, a lawgiver, from the words *euva*, law, and *reich*, rich, strong, powerful.

§ Ducange. Glossary. See the words "Inhoc, Inhocka," where they are said to mean an enclosure, from the Saxon *inge*, a field, and *hoke*, an

the Ingaevones would have been men governed by that law; in other words, the tribe of *agriculturists.*

Berosus states that in the reign of the second successor of Ninias, Herminon was the King of the Teutones; he was a formidable man, and one skilled in the use of arms.* Both here and in Tacitus the name Herminon seems merely to be the name Herman latinized; the Herminones therefore were the warriors, the nobles, the military tribe.

Finding, as we do, that the two sons of Mannus, or the two first kings of the Teutones, gave their names to two different professions, to two different modes of life, we are at once inclined to infer that the third name must have some analogous meaning. Could it be intended to describe men whose usual occupation consisted in fishing or in navigation? There is nothing to warrant the theory in any Teutonic idiom. And yet in the ninth century I find that there were in Germany a body of men, who went by the name of *haistaldi*,† and who owed personal suit and service to the noble or lord of the district, (the edel or ald,) similar to that which was termed *estage*‡ in old French; men attached to the manor, to the glebe of his domain. If the Latin author, through some slip of his pen, altered the Teutonic word even ever so slightly, the Istaevones may have become Haistaevones, or

angle. Andec-inga, or anz-inga, or acc-ingia, were according to him a measure of cultivated land. *Bur-ingi* signifies labourers, literally those who delve, or cut up a field. See § 83 and § 87.

* Vir ferox armis.

† See the Glossary of Ducange and the Glossarium Novum of Carpentier, for the word "Haistaldi." Carpentier proves, contrary to the theory of a learned German writer, that Ducange was right in considering the Haistaldi as serfs, men legally attached to the glebe and manor.

‡ See the Glossarium Novum of Carpentier, vol. iv., under the word "Estage."

Haistaldi; that is, the tribe subject to the laws of the manor, to feudal service; and the passage in the writings of Tacitus will point to a fact well worthy of notice, although easily explained, that the free cultivators of the soil, the owners of freehold lands, were most numerous on the sea-coast, and that the feudal principle prevailed most in the inland districts.

The interval supposed by Berosus to exist between Ingaevon and Herminon, and the manner in which he silently omits any notice of Istaevon, seems to point to a circumstance which must frequently have occurred in the history of men. In the midst of an agricultural population all at first are equal, there is no distinction between the soldier and the farmer. Population and territory increase; if seasons of war succeed, the people cannot all flock at once to the point of attack, it is therefore found necessary to form a body of fighting men, whose duty it shall be to watch over the public safety, and to share in the fruits reaped by the labour of their fellow citizens. As depositaries of the public strength they are not long before they form themselves into a separate tribe and assume superiority of position. Ultimately, this noble caste begins to oppress those whom it was chosen to protect; and, under pretext of securing the safe cultivation of the soil, its members enforce servitude on the glebe tenants for their own benefit. Berosus only draws attention to this last circumstance by his silence on the point; he could not speak of the Istaevones, for if he still believed in the eastern custom of turning the name of a people or a country into that of a king, how could he have accounted for so honourable a change in the case of a tribe reduced to a state of abject slavery.

Many more observations might be made in support of my conjecture.

First. In the enumeration given by Tacitus of the Germanic nations, and of the territories which they severally occupied, he never repeats the division he had at first laid down; he nowhere says that such and such a tribe is a subdivision of the Herminones, and such another of the Istaevones; does not this prove that the earliest division is one of *classes*, not of peoples? No doubt it may be urged in answer, that Pliny, who divides the Germans into five great families, of which the Herminones, the Ingaevones, and Istaevones, form three, allots several tribes to each. But Tacitus wrote thirty years later, and at a time when thirteen years of war, and the conquests of Trajan beyond the Danube, had made the Romans familiar with the interior of Germany. If, then, he does not implicitly follow the account given by Pliny, it is most likely that his more accurate knowledge of the real facts led him to correct the inaccuracies and errors of his predecessors.

Secondly. The division of the nation into three classes is again mentioned in the *law of the Germans*,* the first Germans, *meliorissimi;* the second, *mediani;* and the *minoflidi*, or persons of low condition, whose name, in the barbarous Latin of the law text, seems to me to correspond with the expression *fled-men*, men that are attached to the manor. Similarly, Nithard and other writers† divide the Saxons into *Edlingi*, nobles; *Frelingi*, free men; and *Lassi*, or *Lazzi*, serfs. Ducange very judiciously remarks that the name last cited is the same as liti, lidi, leti,‡ which all denote men attached to

* Capitula ad legem Alamannorum, c. xxiii. and xxxix. (Edit. Baluzii). Ducange's Glossary under the words "Minoflidus and Flet;" Fledum or Flet, a manorial heirloom.

† Nithard, lib. iv. De Saxonibus.

‡ Ducange. Glossary. Under the words "Lassi, Lazzi, Lidus."

the glebe, obliged not only to pay a certain sum as an acknowledgement, but to perform certain services every month, or even every week, at the court (curia) or the manor of the lord: consequently, they were men whose condition was very slightly better than that of slaves properly so called.

Thirdly. Names borrowed from political institutions seem to have been common among the Teutones. Hurd* shows clearly that, in England, the words *Daena-laga*, *Mercena-laga*, *West Saxena laga*, did not only signify the law (laga or leuga) of the Danes, the Mercians, and the Saxons, but that they also meant the countries, districts, and villages subject to the jurisdiction of each of those legal systems.

Names derived from warlike emblems.

One more institution may have served to distinguish one tribe from another, viz., that of religious and warlike emblems. Most of the North American tribes are named after animals.† Each tribe has almost invariably retained the tradition of some sacred legend connected with the creation of the world, by which the origin of the name and emblem is explained. The custom was not peculiar to America alone. In Egypt the provinces were distinguished from each other by the emblem which each worshipped, perhaps because the policy which aims at division in order to facilitate government‡ made it expedient to sow the seeds of dissension and antipathy between the provinces of the same kingdom; or perhaps again, because a difference of emblems was required simply to recognize the troops supplied from each district, by their different signs. The crocodile, so often seen in

* Hurd. Moral and Political Dialogues, &c., p. 244.

† Heckewelder. Memoir on the Mythology of American Indians. Transactions of the American Society, 1820.

‡ Diodorus Siculus, lib. i., part ii., c. xxxiii.

Egyptian hieroglyphics, and even in the solar pictures of Vishn'u, gave its name to a city and its inhabitants. The Lycopolitan province owed its name to the solar emblems of the wolf (λύκος). The national name of the Parsees, Mogh, denotes some formidable animal.*

SECTION LXXVIII.

RULES TO BE OBSERVED IN THE INTERPRETATION OF NAMES OF NATIONS.

On the interpretation of the names of nations.

THE explanation of the origin of a nation's name is often, as we have seen, a mere record of its pride. And yet these records play an important part in the history of man, when he is viewed in the light of a social being; surely, then, the philosopher will trace something beyond a petty feeling of vanity in the many results of this sentiment of national pride. Veneration for those who have preceded us, gratitude, and a desire to walk in their footsteps, besides the obligation under which we feel to do so, are the natural sentiments engendered in our hearts by the connection of glory with a national name. Once more, our national name is *ourselves.* The most ancient, and the least changeable of our social institutions, it is the one most frequently before us, and the one most intimately identified with our existence. I should feel an immediate predilection for a people that cherishes and honours its own name, whose great desire it is that it should be respected, and whose delight it is to see it exalted, and

* Zend-Avesta, vol. ii., p. 499. The kind of animal is not specified; but, as the same word is found in the Persian name of Ahriman, *Ashmogh*, it probably means some fierce and dangerous creature.

its existence perpetuated through war cries and national hymns.

If we view the subject in another light, we shall find that an enquiry of this kind may be of material use in the study of history and geography; it will serve to eliminate absurd stories; it will bring back to light facts that have long lain hidden under a superstructure of falsehoods, by which men have been drawn into apparently justifiable, though fallaciously grounded scepticism. Its use to the historian and geographer.

My present intention is to lay down certain rules, as inferences from what I have already stated. Should some of them appear too simple, not to say puerile, I have but one remark to make by way of excuse, viz., that they have almost always been overlooked in the interpretation of the names of a people.

We may lay this down, first, as an axiom, that no nation ever gives itself a discreditable name; for this, whether arising from humility or from folly, would be unnatural. If a name happen to be offensive to the nation that bears it, that name has, in all probability, been given by another nation, and has been disowned by the bearer of it, or it may have reached our times in some mutilated form. Rules to be observed.

Secondly. The interpretation of a national name must only be sought for in the language of the nation that bears it.

Thirdly. A certain number of primitive names connect the idea of the entire human race with a single nation; others record military feats, strength, ingenuity, or superior power.

Fourthly. Some names denote the mode of existence of the various castes, or of the whole nation.

Fifthly. Some are derived from localities; but if they

imply a relative situation to some other country, they are seldom national names; they have either been given by a neighbouring people, or they are only surnames adopted by the several tribes of one nation.

Sixthly. A tribe often takes the name of its chief or of its protecting deity, and in this case the so-called founder of the nation is only the country, or the people itself, personified or deified.

Seventhly. The names of nations have often represented the emblems which have been chosen by the tribes, or which are suggested by the religious creed which they profess.

In times when there was scarcely any writing, when the records of past history, and the annals of the present, were all in the form of hieroglyphics, painting or pointing to an emblem corresponded with the writing or utterance of a nation's name. The habit has been recognized among the natives of America, and it will invariably be found wherever the art of writing, and the want of a figurative style, have not obliterated from men's minds the naturally intimate relationship that exists between an emblem and the being it represents. What a mass of absurd ideas is suggested when we read in history of tribes of foxes, tortoises, and beavers; of their perpetual fights, alliances, and treaties with the pilgrim Europeans who wandered along the banks of the lakes Ontario and Erie, and the rivers Delaware and Missouri! And yet what can be more simple when we know that various tribes were designated by the names of those animals?

Fabulous accounts caused by the use of hieroglyphics and emblems.

The Ethiopians make an incursion into Egypt, and are driven back by a multitude of wolves; henceforth the nation which was thus miraculously delivered, adopts the name of

its liberators, it becomes the Lycopolitan province.* Such is the fable; let us now examine the truth of the story. The wonderful account originated in the name; the country had long been known by that name, for it was sacred to the celestial wolf who had helped Isis and Horus against the attacks of Typhon, *i. e.*, to the constellation of the wolf, whose rising in the evening announces the vernal equinox. Hence the people of the province would naturally adorn their standards, and perhaps their shields, with the figure of a wolf; and in this sense wolves triumphed over the Ethiopians. A religiously-inclined people, ever ready to attribute their victories to divine interference, would at once adopt the figurative expression as a literal truth.

We shall now, without any further hesitation, proceed to explain the majority of those fabulous tales in which animals take a prominent position in the history of men; in which monsters of various kinds are said to be clothed in some half-human half-animal shape, and we shall succeed (in part, at least, I trust), in restoring nations that have been too readily consigned to the region of mythology, to their proper place in the history of the world.

SECTION LXXIX.

THE GRYPHINS AND ARIMASPI.

ARISTEAS of Proconnesus was the author of an epic poem on the wars between the Gryphins and the Arimaspi, the latter being described as "invincible warriors with one eye only in

* Diodorus Siculus, lib. i., part ii., c. xxxii. Euseb. Praep. Evang. lib. ii., § i.

their lovely foreheads;"* the former, as monsters with the body of a lion and the head and wings of an eagle, keeping perpetual watch over immense treasures, and guarding them against the attacks of their adversaries.

Is the poem of Aristeas a genuine production?

Following in the steps of a much esteemed author,† many of us would be tempted to believe that a poem, written on so revolting a tradition, must have belonged to some period when the burlesque prevailed in literature. The style, however, of the two fragments which are still extant,‡ forbids the notion.

* Fragment of Aristeas of Proconnesus, preserved by Tzetzes, Cheiliad. vii., v. 688.

† Ginguené. Histoire Littéraire d'Italie (9 vols. 8vo, Paris, 1811-1819), vol. v., pp. 529, 530.

‡ We have noticed the one preserved by Tzetzes; the other is quoted by Longinus, and has been imitated in verse by Boileau in his translation of the Treatise on the Sublime, c. viii. The fair manner in which Longinus criticises the style of Aristeas, leads us to conjecture that the poem then under his notice was a free translation of a much earlier work. In point of fact, whilst Suidas (see the word Aristeas) imagines Aristeas to have lived about the fiftieth Olympiad, Tatian (Orat. ad. Græc. § 62) thinks he lived before the time of Homer. It would appear from a tradition there was concerning him, and which was retained by the people of Metapontum, that (as Larcher judiciously remarks in his translation of Herodotus, vol. iii. of second edition, pp. 422 and 425) he lived long before the first Olympiad. Herodotus (lib. iv., § 14 and 15) tells us that he rose again to life several times, and Suidas (in the passage above quoted) states that his soul went in and out of his body at will. We are reminded by these miraculous gifts of the permanent resurrection said to belong to the chief priests of Lamaism. This may be the solution of the enigma. Many individuals, at different periods, may have pretended to possess the soul and the genius, as well as the name of Aristeas; they may have altered his poems in order to make them intelligible to the people of their own time, and not only the poems, but the Theogony also, of which Suidas assures us Aristeas was the author. This might be added, as another instance, to the cases of Orpheus and Zoroaster, *i. e.*, to cases in which the disciples of a celebrated teacher have always assumed his name when they were about to remodel or re-establish his doctrines.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus looked upon the poem of Aristeas* as a purely apocryphal work. Aulus Gellius,† on the contrary, and Longinus,‡ do not question its authenticity. And even Herodotus§ himself, who is always instructive, even in his apparently most fabulous accounts, speaks seriously of the Gryphins and the Arimaspi; the latter he places somewhere near the Issedones, a people whom they eventually succeeded in driving out of their native country.

Examination of the story of the Gryphins.

Is the absurdity of the story, then, only an apparent one? and may it not have originated in some wrongly understood name or emblem?

The union of the lion and eagle may have been a creation of astronomical mythology, but it indicated strength combined with swiftness and vigilance too obviously, to fail in obtaining a place in the language of hieroglyphics. In Egyptian hieroglyphics we find griffins yoked to the chariot of the sun,‖ whilst at Athens they formed a prominent ornament in the helmet of Minerva.¶ Several of the Grecian cities had the figures of griffins struck upon their medals,** and the Persian poet Firdusi mentions a lion-bird,†† or true griffin, as the guide of Alexander the Great. The same emblem penetrated into the north of Europe. From this proper names were frequently derived, and before the adoption of patronymics, it designated an illustrious and powerful

* Dionys. Halic. De Thucyd. judic. §. 23.

† Noct. Attic., lib. ix., c. iv.

‡ Longinus, in the passage quoted.

§ Herodot., lib. iv., § 13 and 27.

‖ Pierius. Hieroglyph., lib. xxii., c. xxiii.

¶ Pausanias. Attic., c. xxiv.

** Encyclopédie Méthodique, Antiquités. See the word "Griffons."

†† Hageman. Monument. Persep. a Ferdusio illust., pp. 25-30; quoted in the Bibliothèque Universelle, Littérature, vol. vii., p. 326.

family in Poland.* Another family in Pomerania, having chosen the same emblem, recorded it in the names of its subject cities.†

During the reign of the Latin emperors, the inhabitants of the west used to call the Greeks Gryphins; Matte-Gryphones was the name given by them to a fort which was intended to keep the inhabitants of the Peloponnesus‡ within proper limits of submission; and yet the Byzantine soldiers were by no means imaginary beings. Unless we transform our dragoon regiments into monstrous *dragons*, and are prepared to maintain that Cæsar led a legion of *larks* into the field,§ we can easily understand how a body of troops may have derived its name from the emblem originally represented on the armour or the standards of the soldiers. If this conjecture be applied to the case of the first Greeks who fought with the Latins, there will be few who will venture to dispute it. And nothing beyond this is needed to account for the probable existence of the Gryphins of Aristeas, or to explain the name by which they would be known in the historical pictures of the day, as well as the fables to which those pictures would certainly give rise. What name other than "Eagle-lions" would more appropriately describe a warlike tribe, the duty of which was to keep constant guard over "inestimable treasures," and to defend them against the rapacity of all hostile aggressors.

* See vol. i., § 38.

† Gryphis-Wald, Gryphen-haggen, Gryphemberg. (Joannes Micraelius, Pomeranic., lib. iii., c. iii., § 12, quæst. 307.)

‡ Ducange. Glossary, see the word "Griffones." He quotes Matthew Paris (A.D. 1190) and other annalists.

§ Legio Alauda (Suetonius in Jul. Cæsar, § 24). Alaudarum Legio (Cicero, Epist. ad Attic., lib. xvi. ep. viii.; Philippic. i., § 8; v., § 5.

The Gryphins being thus divested of the marvellous, their enemies cannot be suffered to remain in their old regions of mystery.

The fable of the Arimaspi examined.

The least improbable of the many conjectures made regarding the fable of the Arimaspi, is the one which alludes to the habit of closing one eye when aim is taken by those who shoot with the bow; such a habit, however, would be common to all Scythians whose principal weapon was the bow, a weapon which was common both to the Greek and Persian archers. The use of the bow was too general to admit of its being made a mark of distinction.

Before we proceed to any explanation, we must first clear up one or two difficult points.

Diodorus Siculus first speaks of certain Arimaspi, whose lawgiver was one Zathraustes, and who pretended that his laws were inspired by some deity.* It is generally admitted that Zathraustes is the same as Zoroaster. We may, therefore, search for the Arimaspi throughout the whole of the land of Iran, and extend our search beyond the confines of Bactria.

Diodorus subsequently mentions the Arismaspi somewhat indefinitely as constituting one of the Scythian† tribes. This leaves us to wander in thought over the vast space which extends from the Palus Maeotis and the Caspian Sea, to those distant tracts on the north-east, which (by name even) were hardly known to the ancients, and which have not yet been explored fully, either by the ambitious or the gain-seeking enterprises of more recent times.

* Diod. Sic., lib. i., part ii., § 35. Cœlius Rhodiginus (Antiq. Lect., lib. xxiii., c. iv.) represents Arimaspes as a disciple attached to Zoroaster through the twofold tie of religion and friendship, but does not quote his authority for the statement.

† Diod. Sic., lib. ii., § 26.

Various localities assigned as the country of the Arimaspi.

He places the *beneficent** Arimaspi (εὐεργέται) on the north of the country of Gedrosia. This surname was given to them by Cyrus, whose army they had rescued from death when it was on the point of dying of hunger in the deserts which adjoin their country.

Callimachus† seems to me to confound the light-haired Arimaspi with the Hyperboreans.

The Arismaspi spoken of by Valerius Flaccus‡ and Lucan§ were a Scythian tribe, celebrated for the gold they amassed either by working in the mines, or by washing the sand of a river called Arimaspa by Vibius Sequester.‖ Ammianus Marcellinus,¶ in his description of Persia, states that that empire is bounded on the north by numerous Scythian tribes, and by the fierce Arimaspi. Pliny** places them beyond the Maeotes, a people who had given their name to the Palus Maeotis.

Stephen of Byzantium†† quotes an ancient author who has

* Diodorus Siculus, lib. xvii., § 24.

† Callimach. Hymn. vi., v. 239.

‡ Et qui tua jugera nondum
Eruis, ignotis insons Arimaspe metallis.
Valer. Flacc. Argonaut., lib. vi., v. 160.

§ Quidquid Tagus expulit auri
Quodque legit dives summis Arimaspus arenis.
Lucan. Pharsal., lib. vii., v. 755.

Tunc et Sithoniae gentes, auroque ligatas
Substringens, Arimaspe, comas.
Ibid., lib. iii., v. 280.

‖ Vib. Sequester. De fluminibus. See the word Arimaspa.

¶ Ammian. Marcell., lib. xxiii.

** Plin. Hist. Nat., lib. iv., c. xii.

†† Encyclopédie Méthodique. Antiquités. See article on the "Arimaspi."

frequently alluded to the Arimaspi, and who thought they lived in the neighbourhood of the Hercynian Forest.

We have no hesitation, therefore, in coming to the following conclusions, viz.: First, that the name Arimaspi was given to several different tribes, a circumstance which must eventually have caused serious geographical confusion.

Secondly, that Valerius Flaccus, Lucan, and Ammianus Marcellinus (whose authority is most valuable on the subject, as he must have been far better acquainted with Persia than his predecessors, from having fought there,) speak of the Arimaspi as contemporaries and a still extant nation. Now the three authors above named, (and to their names we might add those of Pliny, Callimachus, Stephen and Diodorus,) do not in the slightest allude to the *one eye* of the Arimaspi. In their belief, the Arimaspi were neither monsters nor imaginary beings; why, then, should we believe them to have been such, especially when we find that on an old stone* which contains a representation of a fight between one of the Arimaspi and one of the Gryphins, the former is depicted with his full complement of two eyes?

Had the Arimaspi but one eye?

What says Herodotus?† The Arimaspi were spoken of to a Scythian tribe by the Issedones. The Scythians accordingly, translating the name of the people mentioned to them into their own idiom, found that it meant *single-eyed*.‡ And

* Encyclop. Méthod., Antiquités. See the article on the "Arimaspi."

† Herod., lib. iv., § 27.

‡ According to Herodotus, the writer of the Arimaspian verses stated that he had obtained his information from the Issedones. The Issedones, therefore, must have wrongly and absurdly interpreted the name of their victorious masters, either from motives of revenge, or because the wrong interpretation had introduced an emblem into historical painting, the use of which had become habitual.

on that foundation they constructed the fabulous account which the Greeks, those ardent lovers of the marvellous, swallowed with avidity. It would be quite as rational if we were to seek in French etymology for the meaning of a Chinese name that had been transmitted to us by the Turks.

Origin of the name Arimaspi.

The nations who accepted the laws of Zoroaster must have spoken a dialect of the Zend or Pehlv'i languages. *Asp*, in Zend and in Persian, means *horse*, and in a more extended sense, *horseman*. The last named epithet was peculiarly appropriate to the warlike hordes that roamed about in the immediate neighbourhood of Bactria, the country of Gedrosia, the Caspian Sea, and the Palus Maeotis. It was retained by the Greeks when they called the Benificent Arismaspi, Agriaspi.* To this syllable Asp we might join the name Arii, to complete the name of the Arimaspi, (Arii meaning *courageous, powerful*), and we might further surmise that the consonant *m*† was introduced for the sake of euphony. Or again, we might refer the formation of the word to the name Aram,‡ which originally belonged to all the Scythian nations, or to the Arimi of Pliny and the Mount Arima spoken of by Suidas.§ But the account given to us by Diodorus furnishes a more satisfactory solution. Where was the birth-place of Zoroaster, the country which had acknowledged his divine character, and in which two prophets had already preceded him?

* Arrian. De Exped. Alex., lib. iii., c. ix.; Quintus Curtius, lib. vii., c. iii. Viewed, if we may so call it, as a mongrel word, the Agriaspi would mean fierce, formidable, and destructive *horsemen*.

† We find this consonant in the word *Ariom*, a word evidently derived from the old name of Hindustan, viz., Aria, and characteristic of the Sanskrit alphabet, commonly used on the coast of Malabar. (Zend-Avesta, vol. i., part i., p. 172.)

‡ Plin. Hist. Nat., lib. vi., c. xvii.

§ Suidas. See the word Arima.

Where was the happy region, specially chosen by Ormuzd for the announcement and successful propagation of his law? I answer, in Ariema.* The people to whom Zoroaster dictated his laws were the *horsemen* of the Ariema, the *Ariemaspi.* All that was wanted to change the name into Arimaspi amongst the neighbouring people was, that it should convey some definite meaning in their own idiom, especially if it were an extraordinary meaning.

Wherever the rule of the Pure Law was recognized, the honourable title of *horsemen of Ariema* would be adopted with a feeling of religious pride, and would take the place of older titles. Pliny mentions a tribe of Arii, the Cacidarii,† as existing amongst the Scythians; they had given up their own name and taken that of Arimaspi.

Hence we shall not be surprised to find the Arimaspi on the north of the country of Gedrosia, on the coasts of the Caspian Sea, beyond the confines of Bactria, and even as far as the borders of the Hercynian Forest, if it be once admitted that a horde of Mazdeïesnans established themselves among the Germans; when, after leaving the heights of Iran-vedj they directed their course westward, and crossed the enormous distances that intervened.

Where did the Arimaspi really live?

The question is, in which of these countries did the Arimaspi live whose praises were celebrated in the verses of the poet of Proconnesus?

In the account of Pliny, which agrees but slightly with

* See the alphabetical table in the Zend-Avesta, under the word Ariema, and the references to passages containing allusions to that holy land. See also, in Appendix, Note B, § 9, the various names given to Ariema. Their great number facilitated alterations in the names of the inhabitants of the country.

† Arimaspi antea Cacidarii. (Plin. Hist. Nat., lib. vi., c. xvii.)

the remarks made on the subject by Herodotus, the error, I think, consists in supposing that the Arimaspi were near neighbours of the Issedones. There were, no doubt, some Issedones* near the Borysthenes, but they were only an offshoot from the Asiatic Issedones, a mere fraction of the ancient people which, when driven away by war from its native soil, could find no better place of settlement than the banks of the Borysthenes. Solinus fixes the settlement of the Issedones of Asia beyond Bactria,† hence the Arimaspi must have lived further beyond still. This will be all the more readily admitted if we remember that Solinus states in the same chapter, that the numerous tribes who lived beyond Bactria had from the earliest times continued to obey with unswerving fidelity the same law as the Parthians,‡ the law of the Mazdeïesnans.

We read in the Boun-dehesch that "the longest day in summer is equal to the two shortest days in winter, and that the longest night in winter is equal to the two shortest nights in summer."§ Such a state of things, says Volney,‖ can only exist in latitude 49° 20′, where the longest day in the year is sixteen hours and ten minutes, and the shortest eight hours and five minutes. That, therefore, must have been the region in which the sacred book was written, and where we must look for the Arimaspi, to whom Zoroaster their law-giver delivered it.

In Malte-Brun's map of the Geography of Herodotus,¶

* Solinus, c. xx. † Ibid., c. lii.

‡ Ibid. See Appendix, Note B, § 10.

§ Boun-dehesch, § 25. Zend-Avesta, vol. ii., p. 400.

‖ Volney. Recherches Nouvelles sur l'Histoire Ancienne, Œuvres Complètes, vol. iv., pp. 302, 303.

¶ Atlas Complet du Précis de la Géographie Universelle, &c. Map III.

the Arimaspi are found beyond lat. 50°, and their neighbours the Issedones between lat. 47° and 48°. Now, if the slender and somewhat vague data furnished by the ancient historian be duly examined, we shall not, we venture to think, be deemed presumptuous if we say that the statement of the more recent author favours our own conjecture; and if, bringing the Arimaspi somewhat nearer, we suggest that their original position must have been in the spot indicated by the Boun-dehesch, and in that parallel where the longest day in the year is exactly twice as long as the shortest.

The opinion of Herodotus examined.

With regard to the more distant countries, Herodotus had probably derived a portion of his information from sources of great antiquity, according to which he allotted to certain tribes positions which might once have been correct, but which had long since ceased to be so. As a natural consequence of such an almost inevitable confusion as regards the nomad tribes, facts are, if I may so speak, physically misplaced. The position of the Issedones which determines that of the Arimaspi, their adversaries, must clearly have varied from time to time. From Ariema or Iran-vedj,* from the country where the law was delivered, (an extract from which law is contained in the Boun-dehesch,) Zoroaster imported his religious tenets into Bactria, which became their stronghold, and from which they spread in a southerly direction. The victorious nation followed in the progressive steps of their creed, and either drove back or dispersed the conquered enemy. Then came the distinction between the Issedones of Scythia in lat. 40°, and the Issedones of Serica in lat. 36° or 37°.†

* See Appendix, Note B, § 9, 10, 11.

† Malte-Brun. Atlas Complet, &c., Maps v. and vii. Major Rennel

Where the Arimaspi lived.

The latter are mentioned by the anonymous geographer of Ravenna.* Neighbours of the Tocarii, a people settled on the confines of India Serica and Bactria, they inhabited a vast tract of country, extending to the upper extremity of India Serica.

Taking it for granted, then, that this is the true locality, (and our suggestion is confirmed by the maps of Malte-Brun), we will go on to explain a curious passage in the works of Isidore of Seville.† "In India," he says, "there is a tribe of Cyclops, men who have but one eye in the middle of their forehead." Now when Aulus Gellius‡ calls the Arimaspi of Aristeas, Cyclops, he seems to intimate that it was of them Isidore intended to speak, and the India where these Cyclops lived, is that portion of India Serica in which, at the period mentioned in the verses of Aristeas, the victory of the Arimaspi had enabled them to take the place of the Issedones.

From this it follows that the Arimaspi were sufficiently near the beautiful land of Cashmere to know of the existence, and to covet the possession of its metals, precious stones, and rich productions; in a word, of the countless treasures which nature, commerce, and art, had at all times so bountifully lavished on that favoured country. The cupidity of the Arimaspi found an easy pretext and incentive in the hatred which the religion of Zoroaster made it their duty not only to feel but to manifest by overt acts. Hindustan was the country they were going to lay waste; it was the country sacred to the Dews whom they were going to spoil, of the

looks upon the Issedones as the ancestors of the people now denominated Oigurs or Yugures by the Tartars, Eluts or Eluths by the Chinese. *Geographical System of Herodotus*, vol. i., p. 176. Ed. 1830.

* Ravenn. Anonym., lib. i., c. xxi.; lib. ii., c. viii.

† Isidor. Hispal., lib. xi., c. iii. ‡ A. Gellius, lib. ix., c. iv.

treasures intended by Ormuzd to be shared by his faithful worshippers. It should be noticed how these formidable hordes fled to the scene of plunder, just as at the present day, seconded by the untiring fleetness of their horses, they still come rushing down upon countries which are separated from their own by enormous distances, give battle, lay the land waste, and suddenly disappear. Is it to be wondered at then, that a permanent system of defence should have been organized to meet such attacks? This took the form of a strong military force, always under arms, always on the watch, the name, emblems, and standards of which seemed to express the words, strength, courage, vigilance, and swiftness.*

SECTION LXXX.

THE HYPERBOREANS.

FARTHER than the country of the Issedones, the Gryphins, and the Arimaspi, Herodotus places the Hyperboreans, *who stretch out towards the sea.*† Modern geographers,‡ in their researches respecting the country inhabited by the Issedones, have not been wholly guided by the above description; and they were right in abandoning the old track. The Greeks have accumulated far too many contradictory notions regarding these Hyperboreans. They seem to have wished to

* In a fragment translated by M. Abel Rémusat, Ma-Touan-Lin, a Chinese author, states that, according to tradition, the land of Cashmere (Kia-che-mi-lo) was formerly the country of the *Dragons*. (Nouvelles Annales des Voyages, vol. xv., p. 298.) The name *Dragons*, as applied to winged monsters, may possibly have described the warlike emblem which by the Greeks was termed *Griffins*.

† Herodot. lib. iv., c. xiii. ‡ Danville, Rennel, Malte-Brun, &c.

anticipate and rival the abuse the moderns would make of the word Indians, which, after being applied to the inhabitants of the South of Asia, and thence to the natives of America, may also be traced in our relations with Malacca, in the Straits of Magellan, in Otaheite and at Nootka.

The name Hyperboreans examined.

If any traditions exist connected with an erroneous interpretation of the name Hyperboreans, their nature will fall within the scope of our subject.

Hyperborean means in Greek, above the North Wind, *i. e.*, very high to the north, or very distant in the direction of the north.

The name must have been given to those whom it described, by a more southern nation. The Greeks did not originate the title, for their own knowledge of the Hyperboreans was of the vaguest. Hence they must have translated it from some other language. If we adopt the last meaning of the name we have given above, the Greeks believed that the Hyperboreans lived near the Pigmies, *i. e.*, the Laplanders, or the Samoyedes; they fixed their habitation as far back as the Polar Circle, where the longest day in the year is of twenty-four hours' duration, and where the sun does not set. Then they placed them next at the very Pole itself, and gave them but one day and one night, each lasting six months. Great indeed must have been the distance between such a position and that of a people to whom, according to the same writers, Europe is indebted for the introduction of the olive tree.

Above or beyond the influence of Boreas, beyond the North Wind; may not these scarcely intelligible expressions of Pausanias,* Diodorus,† and Solinus‡ be the inaccurate

* Pausanias. Eliac. i., c. vii. † Diod. Sic., lib. ii., c. xxviii.
‡ Solinus, c. xxi.

translation of a word which had long ceased to be understood?

The young virgins who brought offerings to Delos from the Hyperboreans, are called by Callimachus* the daughters of Boreas. Diodorus† tells us that the Pontiff Kings of that people were descendants of Boreas.

At a very remote period, Mount Caucasus was called the bed of Boreas. May we not follow up this idea with advantage, and derive the name of the Hyperboreans from the fact of their living beyond Mount Caucasus, or the *bed of Boreas?*‡

We might go on a step farther, and remind our readers that Borâ means snow in the Albanian language,§ and the word has accordingly been selected as the name of a snow-capped mountain; or we might hazard a conjecture that Borâ may some time have belonged to the Greek language, for it seems to be at the root of the name given to the cold wintry wind. What names, therefore, could more appropriately describe the snowy peaks of the Caucasus, and the people who lived beyond the Caucasus—beyond the feather-bearing land (Πτεροφόρος),‖ the country where the snow falls continually in the form of feathers—than those which the Greeks translated

* Callimach. Hymn vi., v. 290, 291. † Diod. Sic., lib. ii., c. xxviii.

‡ Treatise on Rivers and Mountains, attributed to Plutarch, c. v.

§ Pouqueville. Voyage dans la Grèce, vol. ii., p. 363. The mountain called *Vitzi* by the Greeks, is called *Bora* by the Albanians. It does not follow that the Hyperboreans were so named because they lived beyond that mountain, for if they had lived in Macedonia, beyond the Axius, they would have been too near the Greeks not to be well known by them, and no such confused and contradictory ideas as do exist, could have existed as regards their place of habitation.

‖ Solinus, c. xxi. Plin. Hist. Nat., lib. iv., c. xii. Πτεροφόρος means feather-bearer. The Scythians, says Solinus (c. lii.), gave the Caucasus a name which signified whitened with snow, "*nivibus candicantem.*"

by the expressions Boreas, or bed of Boreas, descendants of Boreas, or Hyperboreans?

Without attaching too much importance to such inquiries, let us now see whether the conjecture they seem to warrant is at all supported by geographical information.

Where was the country of the Hyperboreans situated?

According to an old tradition,* the garden of the Hesperides was situated in the country of the Hyperboreans, and beyond the Caucasus. To obtain its fruits Hercules crossed from Africa into Asia, and loosed the chains of Prometheus before he reached the end of his voyage.

Hellanicus, quoted by St. Clement of Alexandria, says that the Hyperboreans lived on the back slopes of the Riphaean mountains.†

Pliny‡ and Pomponius Mela§ assign the same situation to them; but, led astray on the one hand by a faulty translation of the name Hyperboreans, and on the other by the real or imaginary existence of a tribe of Arismaspi on the confines of Asia and Europe, the one places the Riphaean mountains at the Pole, and the other not far from the Palus Maeotis. Solinus is not sure whether the Hyperboreans do not belong more to Asia than to Europe, and then adds that in Asia, on the east of the summer solstice, and at the place where the chain of the Riphaean mountains ends, there was a race very similar in character to the Hyperboreans.‖

Difficulties of the

The Caucasus¶ had already been called the Riphaean moun-

* Appollodorus. Bibl., lib. ii., c. v.

† St. Clement. Alex. Stromat., lib. i.

‡ Plin. Hist. Nat., lib. iv., c. xii. § Pompon. Mel., lib. iii., c. v.

‖ Altera in Asia gens est, ad initium orientis aestivi, ubi deficiunt Rhiphaeorum montium juga, Hyperboreis similes; Rhiphaeos vocant. (Solin., c. xxi.)

¶ Jornandes. De Rebus Geticis, c. xxv.

tains by the Scythians; it was a name also which had always been given to one portion of the great Caucasian range. To lay down, therefore, the exact position of the Riphaean mountains that are spoken of by the authors we have quoted, would be an almost impossible task, on account of the indefinite character of their geographical descriptions. But the double use of the word made by Solinus when he places a nation similar to the Hyperboreans in Asia, in the direction east-north-east, at the extremity of the Caucasian range, leads us to turn our attention to the Imaus or Hindu Caucasus.* The testimony of Herodotus, who places the Hyperboreans beyond the Issedones and the Arimaspi, and the opinion of M. Malte-Brun and Major Rennel on the earliest settlements of the Issedones, one and all point in the same direction. If, then, we can find in some remoter region still, and beyond a great range of mountains, a country the name of which means "snowy region of the north," we shall be justified in fixing upon it as the dwelling-place of the Hyperboreans, more especially if the country be an elevated one, if the name was originally given to it by the inhabitants of a more southern region, and if afterwards the name was retained in consequence of the respect the people felt for their religious teachers.

question caused by imperfect descriptions.

Pioue Kvachim, or *northern snow*, snowy region of the north. Tibet,† the highest habitable region in Asia, and probably in the whole world, has no other name, and its inhabitants are agreed that it was so named by certain wise men who came from the extremity of Hindustan, and in the

Tibet is probably the country of the Hyperboreans.

* An expression now used by many geographers. Vitruvius gives the name of Caucasus to the chain of mountains from which the Ganges and the Indus take their source. (De Archit., lib. viii., c. ii.)

† Samuel Turner. Ambassade au Thibet (French translation, 2 vols., 8vo, Paris, 1800), vol. ii., pp. 78, 79.

early days taught them the religion of Buddha. The praises lavished upon the virtue, piety, gentleness, and peaceful existence of the Hyperboreans, "*the most fortunate of nations*,"* coincide admirably with the accounts given by the most recent traveller in it, who calls it "Happy Tibet." The duration of their lives was something wonderful; but Lamaism teaches that the deity is constantly undergoing fresh incarnations in the person of its chief priests. Hence this doctrine, which may have been slightly modified by distance, will account for the circumstance that some of the Hyperboreans were said to have lived for many centuries.

Buddhism was introduced into Tibet from Hindustan, and accordingly certain things have been attributed to the Hyperboreans which of right belonged only to their teachers. "*The most ancient of all nations*," is a title which, though applied by Callimachus to the Hyperboreans,† seems far more appropriate to the Hindus. When other authors say that the Hyperboreans live in groves, and that, when their old men are weary of life, they submit to a voluntary death, they are merely describing the Indian philosophers, such as they were known to the Greeks who followed in Alexander's march.

A similar confusion will explain the statement made respecting the country of the Hyperboreans, viz., *that it extends towards the sea*, a statement which is perfectly true in the case of Hindustan. Diodorus fixes the locality of the Hyperboreans‡ on an island; and Solinus§ attributes to the islanders of Taprobana that fabulous longevity which is accounted for by the perpetually recurring incarnations of

* Gens beatissima. (Solinus, c. xxi.)

† Callimach. Hymn vi., v. 279, 280.

‡ Diod. Sic., lib. ii., c. xxviii.

§ Solinus, c. lvi.

Buddhism. It would be difficult to describe the dawn of religious civilization in Tibet more accurately, even if Diodorus had not added a feature which is peculiarly characteristic of the religion of Tibet and Buddhism in general, the union, that is, of the regal with the priestly power amongst the Hyperboreans. The holy land of Lanka, the island of Ceylon, the Taprobana of the ancients, is, in point of fact, the place mentioned by a tradition, still current in Siam and in Hindustan, as the cradle of Buddha and Buddhism. Wherever that religion passed on its way to the country which is now the centre of its rule, it seems to have left lasting traces of its passage. From the point where Ceylon seems to join on to the mainland, to the neighbourhood of Tibet, many names of places remind us of Buddha,* though now the same God is hardly ever worshipped in the interior by any other name than that of Vishn'u. And lastly, the island of Lanka was the scene of the exploits of Anhouma, the Ape-Sun, when he came to the rescue of Buddha-Ram and his brother. We may also remember that the priests of Buddha boast of having converted a great number of apes, and that the inhabitants of Tibet believe that they themselves originally sprang from a race of apes.†

The olive tree which is cultivated in Europe is foreign to the soil of Hindustan; but further than this, it would not have

* See the large map and description of Hindustan by Major Rennel, and the alphabetical index to the map. In the same parallel as the northern point of Ceylon, and about three degrees west longitude, is a place called *Poulgoury*. The name reminds us of the lake *Poulkouri*, near the shores of which the "celestial child" was born, the parent stock of the Mandshu dynasty. There is a legend about him, which, like all those with which the Tartar chiefs embellish the beginning of their genealogies, differs but little from that of Buddha.

† See above, § 70.

gone through Tibet to reach Greece from the banks of the Ganges. Now, if we bear in mind the religious zeal which has at all times induced the votaries of the Hindu creed to engage in distant pilgrimages; if we also notice that in addition to this feeling, there is a settled belief that there are no foreign gods, and that all men worship the same deity under different emblems; if, consequently, we do not reject the tradition according to which the Hyperboreans used of old to send offerings to Delos,* the question before us assumes a totally different aspect. Olen,† the Hyperborean, before he had taught the Greeks to recite his hymns, and before he had made the oracle at Delphi speak in verse, had lived sufficiently long in Lycia to induce people to believe that he had originally sprung‡ from that country. The way he travelled throws some light on the one taken by the two virgins and the five persons who were deputed to bear the offerings to the Sun-God. Hence these pious pilgrims, when crossing Asia Minor, may have taken with them the olive tree, and so enriched Greece with the precious gift, and the people who received it at their hands may have imagined it to have been a production of their native country.§

* Herodot., lib. iv., c. xxxiii. † Pausanias. Phoc., c. v.

‡ Herod., lib. iv., c. xxxv. Callimach. Hymn. in Delum, v. 304.

§ Prometheus, when released by Hercules on Mount Caucasus, wore a band made of olive leaves, in memory of his bonds (Apollodor. Bibl., lib. ii., c. v.). This tradition seems to have some connection with our inquiry.

SECTION LXXXI.

CYCLOPS AND CENTAURS.

THE erroneous interpretation of the name Arimaspi, led Isidore of Seville to call them Cyclops. The fables invented by the Greeks respecting the Cyclops may have a somewhat analogous origin.

Inquiry into the fabulous stories related of the Cyclops.

Grecian vanity has never attempted to deprive a foreign race of the glory of their Cyclopean works. Scattered as they were all over Italy and Greece, these gigantic monuments of a physical power with which we are no longer acquainted, and of a scientific and mechanical skill which we can scarcely credit in those ancient times, testify, and will for a long time continue to testify, to the fact, that a hardy and industrious race must have inhabited those countries. The race must have been familiar with pyrotechnic chemistry and metallurgy; this the Greeks have expressed by their attributing to them the office of forging the arms of the gods and the bolts of Jupiter. They add, that the Cyclops fell pierced by the arrows of Apollo, a metaphor which clearly indicates some endemic and pestilential disease, similar to the one by the ravages of which the camp of the Atridae was desolated during the tenth year of the siege of Troy.

What was the country of the Cyclops?

Pherecydes was of opinion that the Cyclops were natives of Lycia;* Aristotle states that they were an ancient Thracian people; Homer places the last of the Cyclops in Sicily. Now, these are by no means, necessarily, contradictory

* Euripidis Scholiast. in Alcest.

accounts. They first point to the earlier migrations of the tribe which had settled in Greece, then to the remnant of those who escaped the fatal contagion, and probably also the attacks of the neighbouring nations, and devoted themselves to a pastoral life and its quiet occupations on the slopes of Etna, the highest point in Sicily,* and who were perhaps compelled at last to seek for shelter in the neighbouring rocks,† where the race soon became extinct. According to Philostratus, the Cyclops lived a life of indolence, eating of the produce of the earth, without taking the trouble either to till or to plant.‡ Homer calls them cannibals, and Aristotle says that they presumed upon their strength, and violated every law. Charges like these must be received with suspicion, seeing that they are brought by the Greeks against a nation which formed part of themselves, which did not worship the same gods,§ and which, in the days of its glory, had probably made them feel its superiority.

Perseus, by whom the Gorgon was conquered, crossed by sea from Seriphus to Argos; some of the Cyclops accompanied him, with his mother Danae and Andromeda‖ his wife. Proetus, after being expelled from Argos and taking refuge

* Eurip. Cyclop., act i., sc. iii.

† M. Brocchi, in his "Voyage Scientifique en Sicile," is of opinion that the Faraglioni, a shoal of rocks near Catana, and known in olden times by the name of Cyclopean rocks, were supposed by Homer to be the habitation of the Cyclops.

‡ Philostrat. Eikon., lib. ii.

§ In the Cyclops of Euripides, act i., sc. iv., Polyphemus says that he does not acknowledge either Jupiter or Bacchus as gods. Now the Greeks, it is true, say that this Cyclops was a son of Neptune; that title, however, they used to give to strangers who did not even know the name of Neptune.

‖ Scholiast. in Apollonium Rhod., lib. iv., vers. 1091, 1515.

in Lycia, had already brought back with him a body of Cyclops, whom he had employed in fortifying the city of Tiryns.* In this case the Cyclops appear before us as men of great industry, who had been induced to settle in a half civilized country by chiefs who knew the value of their aid. Aristotle, Euripides, and Homer describe the nation in a less favourable light. But, so far, we can certainly find nothing in their history from which we can in any way be led to infer with certainty that they were only imaginary beings. Even their gigantic size is nothing but an exaggeration of their great physical strength.

Various descriptions given of the Cyclops.

But they too, it is said, like the Arimaspi, had but one eye in the centre of their forehead; or, according to another account, it is stated that they had three eyes! Hesiod, who only allows them one, adds that in all other respects *they were like the gods.*† In a painting at Herculaneum, Polyphemus is represented with three eyes, and in shape as not being at all deformed.‡ Servius§ remarks that Polyphemus was variously represented, sometimes with one eye, sometimes with three, and sometimes with only two eyes. In an old bas-relief in the Museum at Paris, Polyphemus is represented as a giant with two eyes. This would seem to prove that it had not been forgotten that the Cyclops of old were not monsters. How then had they become so?

A religious emblem may have originated the metamorphosis. The Polyphemus of Herculaneum reminds us of the three-eyed statue brought home by the victorious Greeks

* Apollodor. Athen. Biblioth., lib. ii., c. ii.

† Hesiod. Theogon., vers. 142, 143.

‡ Antichità di Ercolano (9 vols. folio, Napoli., 1755–1792), Pitture, tomo 1, Tavola x.

§ Servius, in Æneid., lib. iii., v. 636.

from Troy, which they called τριόφθαλμος;* and it reminds us further of Shiva or Ixora, whose image the Phrygian statue may have originally represented.

The meaning of the name Cyclops.

A simpler explanation still is, that the national name or surname of the Cyclops was derived from two Greek words meaning "round eye." According to Papias, says Boccacio,† the ancient Greeks used to call the arts *Cyclides*, hence they may have derived from that word the name which they gave to the industrious men who imparted to them a knowledge of the arts most necessary to society.

Κύκλος, a circle, was sometimes used by the Greeks as it is by ourselves, to mean an assembly, a meeting; thus it might easily be supposed that the word had originally been applied in that sense to the assembled city or tribe. The word Cyclops was then used to denote *the eye* of the city, *the eye of the people*, a most appropriate title for the educated caste, in whom the government of the country, public education and the priestly‡ office were vested. So in Persia, one of the chief ministers of state was called the *King's eye*;§ so also in Peru, the *Eye-of-all*‖ was the name given to the inspector general, whose duty it was to keep watch over the municipal magistrates in each district.

The *eye*, which is often used as an emblem of Divine

* Pausanias. Corinthiac., c. xxiv.

† Genealogiae Joannis Boccacii (folio, Venetiis, 1511), lib. x., c. xvi.

‡ Ὄψ, the eye, also means a voice, a song, a foreboding, an omen; hence the Cyclops will have been the orators, poets, priests, and diviners, all of them posts which were not unfrequently combined with the duties of a magistrate.

§ Herodot., lib. i., c. cxiv. Æschyl. Pers., vers. 984, 985.

‖ Cucuy-Kioc. J. B. Carli. Lettres Américaines, lettre xiii. (French translation, 2 vols. 8vo, Paris, 1788), vol. i., p. 207.

Omniscience,* truth, vigilance, and worth,† may have been the distinguishing badge of the magistrates,‡ and hence a faulty translation of the proper name would soon give rise to fables respecting a one-eyed or a three-eyed being.

How would it then, if the word κύκλως (which has since been used exclusively to denote the circular form which is naturally assumed by a group of people when they gather round their chiefs) had originally been the very name of the nation itself, of the nation of clever men, of those who were pre-eminently artists?§ We might adopt a similar mode of reasoning in the case of the Cyclades, the name of which may have been derived from the name of their old inhabitants,‖ rather than from their position, for they are far from forming a circle according to the popular notion, round the island of Delos.¶ However, we must not form our conjectures too rashly, but

* Odin, in the religion of the Scandinavians, was represented with one eye only, unico gaudens oculo. Saxo-Grammat. passim. The most high god, worshipped on the summit of the Pennine Alps, was sometimes represented as a young man, naked, and with only one eye in the centre of his forehead. Encyclop. Méthod. Antiquités, see articles Peninus, Penninus, Pennius.

† J. Pierii Valeriani Hieroglyph., lib. xxiii., c. i.—xv.

‡ Aristophanes, in the Acharnians, brings *the eye of the king of Persia* on to the stage; he wore a mask that represented an enormous eye. This piece of buffoonery may but have been the parody of some real ornament sanctioned by long custom.

§ Κυκλίδες, Arts, according to Papias.

‖ Κυκλοβόρος, a roaring mountain torrent in Attica, to the sound of which Aristophanes, in the Knights, compares the bellowing voice of Cleon (Suidas. See article Κυκλοβόρος). It has since been used as the surname of those mountebanks whose hoarse voices were heard in the public places. The ravages caused by this torrent may have originated the name, the devourer of the assembly, the city, the people of the κύκλοι, or Κυκλίδες.

¶ Plin. Hist. Nat., lib. iv., c. xii. Ammian. Marcell., lib. xxii., c. viii.

rather go on to inquire to what nation the Cyclops originally belonged.

To what nation did the Cyclops belong?

At the time of the siege of Troy their language was understood by the Greeks; this is proved by Homer's account of them in the Odyssey, and this also is the reason why I have sought the explanation of their name in the Greek language. Cyclopean erections are also called Pelasgic; and here we may remark by the way, that the name Τρίοψ or Τριώπης, three-eyed, was common to several of the Pelasgic chiefs.

According to tradition, the Pelasgi were originally natives of Argolis; that is to say, the exact period of their very early settlement in that country was unknown. They reverenced the Gods, says Herodotus; * without addressing them by any particular names or surnames, they used to call them by the generic name of *Gods*, because of the order which reigns in every portion of the universe, and of the manner in which the Gods have distributed it. We know that the term *Gods* was for a long time specially applied to the stars; hence we may infer from what is said by Herodotus, that the religion of the Pelasgi was Sabaism. When the Egyptian colonists brought with them into Greece the names by which they called their several deities, together with a mythology founded upon the worship of the Sun-Bull, the Pelasgi refused at first to admit the innovation, and did not admit it until they had received authority to do so from an oracle.

At that time, and at a more recent period still, Argolis entertained the most friendly relations with Lycia, from which report says that the Cyclops proceeded. Proetus had married a daughter of the king of Lycia, and it was from

* Herodot. lib. ii., c. lii.

Lycia, and the country of the Curetes,* that he received help for his return to Argolis.

Was there any material difference between the language of Greece† and that of the Pelasgi? At the time when Herodotus wrote, most assuredly. An inhabitant of Dresden would not understand a peasant who speaks the German of the thirteenth century; and yet, notwithstanding, both spring from one common origin.‡ For a considerable time the descendants of Pelops kept the posterity of Acrisius and Perseus from the throne; the followers of the latter took no part in the Greek expedition against Troy; hence they were looked upon as strangers by the allies of Agamemnon. Now if we only take it for granted that the ruling and priestly castes retained the worship of their *unnamed* Gods, and persistently refused to recognize the deities imported from Egypt, we have at once an explanation of the charges of impiety which Homer and Euripides brought against them.

If we follow the steps of the Pelasgi in their onward course, as it is recorded by Dionysius of Halicarnassus,§ we shall find them in every country where Cyclopean monuments can be traced; first in Argolis, then in Thessaly, where they established themselves by force; and, again, in Italy. There they built cities, remarkable for their Cyclopean rampart-walls. Disastrous wars turned the tide of their prosperity. The Gods visited them, as they had visited the Cyclops,

* La Carie. Scholiast. in Euripid. Orest., v. 963.

† Herodot., lib. i., c. lvii.

‡ On the identity of the Pelasgi with the ancient Greeks, see the Dissertation of Clavier, Traduction de la Bibliothèque d'Apollodore, vol. ii., pp. 488-508.

§ Dionys. Halic., lib. i., c. i., iii., iv., et seq.

with endemic diseases* which destroyed their nation. From that time, a mere group of armed hordes, they were scattered over various parts of Italy. Some authors are of opinion that we can trace the Cyclops as they were described by Aristotle, in the inhabitants of Liguria, "who, lawless, and with no form of government, lived a life of licentiousness as great as their individual size was huge."† Who were the Ligurians who were destroyed by Hercules? A Pelasgic tribe who had driven the Siculi from Liguria.‡

If anything were wanting to prove that the Pelasgi can be traced wherever there were Cyclops, we might look at Sicily, the abode of Polyphemus, and at Lemnos, famous as the workshop of Vulcan. The Pelasgi, it is well known, had expelled the Minyae§ from Lemnos. It is not improbable, that the Pelasgi of Italy crossed over to Sicily when they followed the track of the Siculi, whom they had conquered; history is silent on the point; but Pausanias informs us that the Pelasgi, who in ancient times had built the citadel of Athens, were Sicilians by birth.‖

The Cyclops were the priestly caste in a tribe of Pelasgi.

May we not conclude, then, from the foregoing remarks, that in the midst of a tribe of Pelasgi, the Cyclops were formerly the priestly caste, the depositaries of power and knowledge. It would not have been the first time that a civilization which commerce and the force of arms had brought into Greece by sea with the colonies of Phœnicia and Egypt, had travelled from some remote corner in Asia Minor, traversed Lycia and Thrace in its course, and at last penetrated into

* Dionys. Halic., lib. i., c. v. † Ibid., lib. i., c. ix.

‡ Such is the statement of Philistus of Syracuse, as quoted by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, lib. i., c. ix.

§ Pausanias. Achaic, c. ii. ‖ Ibid., Attic., c. xxviii.

Greece by the aid of art and religion. Orpheus came from Thrace; his predecessor, Olen, from Lycia.

Proetus of Argos had received help from the country of the Curetes, a people famous for their industrious pursuits, and, like Polyphemus, renowned for their wealth in rich flocks of sheep. The Curetes had invented the bow, and were the makers of the earliest swords; they taught men to live socially together, and to bring the brute world into subjection to themselves.* Hence, we may venture to conjecture that the Curetes were invited to settle amongst the ancient Pelasgi, and that in consequence of the good services they had rendered they deservedly became, under the name of Cyclops, the rulers and guides of the people; that their name was often given to the whole nation, and that consequently through the double use of the word, a confusion has arisen between the works and history of the Pelasgi and those of the Cyclops.

Beyond such a conjecture we cannot go, for we know nothing with certainty of the emblem by which the tribe of the Cyclops was distinguished; nor are we better informed as to the true meaning of the denomination which was first altered or translated by the Greeks, and eventually became the groundwork of a ridiculous fable.

The same difficulty does not occur in the case of another equally historical nation, and yet one which is also equally consigned to the regions of mythology. The name of the Centaurs is of Greek origin, and must have been so, for the Centaurs lived in Thessaly. It expresses their mode of life, and means "those who goad the oxen." The fable of the Centaurs examined.

The union of the human form with that of the horse has The form in which they

* Diod. Sic., lib. v., c. xxxvii. and xxxix.

were represented.

been a common one from time immemorial in the hieroglyphics of history and philosophy, and in the signs of astronomy. Painting and sculpture adopted the creation of such a form and transmitted it to poetry. It was used in art to represent herdsmen who spent their lives on horseback, and were sometimes called Hippocentaurs (Ἱπποκένταυροι).*

The Centaurs were herdsmen

The Centaurs were these herdsmen. The city of Boura, on the borders of Thessaly, had been founded by a Centaur, and fixed upon as a gathering place for his numerous herds of oxen.† After their defeat by the Lapithae, the Centaurs fled for refuge into Tyrrhenia,‡ where they may still be found. They are settled on the vast pasture grounds of Tuscany and the Roman States. Armed with a long lance, and all day long on horseback, they keep watch over countless herds of oxen; now riding at full speed and with their lances trying to separate two bulls engaged in desperate conflict; now *goading* and driving towards the herd any stragglers from the common pasture ground; now at rest, and for hours sitting perfectly motionless on a horse, the unvarying patience of which is never disturbed either by the biting stings of insects or by the excessive heat; in a word, the horse seems to form a part of the master he carries.§

If experience and observation had taught some of these armed herdsmen the medicinal properties of a few herbs, we can account for the story of the Centaur Chiron. The tillers

* Ἵππος, a horse.

† See Le Grand Etymologiste, under the word "Boura." Callimachus and his Scholiast, Hymn. in Delum, v. 102.

‡ Ptolom. Hephaest., lib. v. apud Photium Bibliothec., cod. cxc.

§ Lullin-Châteauvieux, Lettres écrites d'Italie en 1812, 1813, (2 vols. 12° Genève, 1816) vol. i., pp. 189, 191; vol. ii., p. 65, and passim. C. V. Bonstetten, Voyage dans le Latium, p. 195, and passim.

of a neighbouring plain invite the chief herdsmen to a festival; rich fare and floods of wine steal away the senses of the assembled guests; a quarrel ensues, then blows, and fightings and war, in which brute force struggles at a disadvantage with the skill of a more civilized people; the herdsmen are conquered, exterminated, and reduced to utter helplessness; such is the story of the war between the Centaurs and the Lapithae. The accurate interpretation of a name at once does away with the marvellous. We shall no longer blame Procopius for remarking that the fortress of Centauropolis* in Thessaly, had always been so called, because the hill on which it was built overlooked the old country of the Centaurs.

The condition or occupation of the Centaurs was determined by the locality in which they lived; it must have been followed by their descendants. We can trace them in the Thessalian horsemen, tamers of bulls, some of whom, in the reign of Claudius,† exhibited their wonderful skill in the circus at Rome, in pursuing, wearying, seizing, and ultimately dragging to the ground the most savage of bulls.

SECTION LXXXII.

THE AMAZONS.

It is a well-established fact in the history of all times and all places, that the weaker sex have frequently wielded those arms which the stronger sex claim as their own special prerogative; that the blood of a foe has stained the hands

* Procop. De aedif. Justinian., lib. iv., c. iii.

† Sueton. in Claud., § 21.

which we have condemned to work with the spindle and to ply the needle, and that in the midst of all the horrors of war, an indomitable courage has frequently been displayed by hearts which men sometimes accuse of weakness and cowardice, with the view, no doubt, of exacting a more completely passive obedience to themselves. Without going so far back as the period of absolute fable, to the ardent Penthesilea, and the inexorable Camilla, Plato and Aristotle both tell us of certain Sarmatian women who used to fight by their husband's side. In the narrow passes of Caucasus, the Albanian women seconded the zealous efforts of their husbands against the army of Pompey.* In the ranks of the Persian troops which were conquered by the Romans, when Valerian had already fallen a victim to the power of Sapor, a great number of women had been engaged in the battle, and were found amongst the slain.† The female warriors whose exploits were related to the traveller Lamberti,‡ and whose armour he saw, also belonged to a Caucasian race. In our own days the Albanian women on the banks of the Brin, the female inhabitants of the Guegues§ villages near Borti, strong and ruthless in war, always go about armed: under the sacred standard of their independence, the female Suliotes have frequently confronted death on the same battle fields with their husbands and children.‖

List of known Amazons.

When the Portuguese, under the command of Orellana,

* Appian. De bello Mithrid. Plutarch. in Pompeio., c. xxxviii.

† Zonaras, in Valerian.

‡ See the account given by P. Archange Lamberti, in the work entitled Grand Recueil de Thèvenot, vol. i.

§ See last note in § 85.

‖ Pouqueville. Voyage dans la Grèce, vol. i., p. 322; vol. ii., pp. 34, 530.

disembarked on the banks of the Amazon, the natives opposed a vigorous resistance to the invasion of their territory by foreigners, and the women who joined the ranks with the men were not inferior to them either in valour, courage, or perseverance; hence, probably, arose the tales told by the Portuguese leader respecting the Amazons, which bears so striking a resemblance to the anecdotes recorded by the Greeks of the Amazons of Asia.* From such an instance as this what must we infer respecting the Amazons? Is their existence also historically true? or, as some learned authors have suggested, is it only a fable transferred from the signs of astronomy to the regions of mythology by the vivid imagination of the Greeks?

The meaning of the name Amazons.

Let us first examine the meaning of their proper name. The Greeks have supplied us with several; the cutting off of one breast; having no intercourse with man; not unfastening the girdle; not fed upon milk.† These various attempts at explanation show clearly that the name was not originally given by the Greeks, but that it was a foreign designation which they tried to translate.

The first translation has lasted the longest. It is an old story that the Amazons used to cut off one of their breasts, in order to handle the bow with greater dexterity; but there is quite as much difference of opinion about the mode in which the mutilation was effected,‡ as there was regarding the interpretation of the proper name. Besides which, in

* Christophe d'Acuna. Relation de la Rivière des Amazones (French translation, 4 vols. 12mo, Paris, 1682), vol. ii., pp. 38, 39.

† See Guyon. Histoire des Amazones (12mo, Paris, 1740), first part, pp. 2, 3.

‡ Guyon, ibid., pp. 78, 79.

many of the ancient monuments* the Amazons are represented with very ample developments, and perfectly free from all mutilation. And Virgil does not tell us that Camilla and her companions were so mutilated, though they shot unerring arrows from their bows.

Some authors derive the name of the Amazons from two words which belong, they say, to the Scythian language, and mean "*excellent woman*," Aemé-Tsaïné.†

Probable meaning of the name.

In Pehlv'i,‡ *am* signifies *mother;* and like *matres* § in Latin, the word *am* may, with a somewhat more extended meaning, have been used to designate all the matrons of a tribe; so that the Amazons would be the wives of the Asons or Ases.

We must now examine the value of our explanation by the test of history.

Pehlv'i was the language in common use in all the countries that lie between the Euxine and the Caspian seas, to the very extreme points of Bactria and Parthia; even before the birth of Zoroaster, many of the names of men and places are found to be in that language. Now, Justin asserts most positively that the Amazons were the wives of the Scythians who founded certain empires amongst the Bactrians and Parthians,‖ *i. e.*, of those Scythians who, under the command of their king Tanaus, conquered Asia, and drove back the Egyptian Vesogis, or Vexoris,¶ to the Nile.

Jornandes,** whose judgment is defective, but whose re-

* Encyclop. Méthod. Antiquités. See article "Amazones."

† Encyclop. Méthod. Géographie Ancienne. See article "Amazones."

‡ Zend-Avesta, vol. ii., p. 477.

§ At *matres* primo ancipites, &c., says Virgil, when speaking of the Trojan women who set fire to the ships of Æneas. Æneid., lib. v., v. 654.

‖ Justin., lib. ii., c. i. and iii. ¶ Justin., lib. i., c. i.; lib. ii., c. ii.

** Jornandes. De Rebus Geticis, c. xix.

cords of national traditions may be relied on, is equally of opinion that the Amazons were the wives of the conquerors of Vesogis, the subjects of the Taunasis, in whom we thought we recognized the chief, and probably the national deity of the Ases.*

Which was the country of the Amazons?

We find the Amazons wherever the presence of their husbands is recorded in history. They gave their help to Bacchus in the conquest of Bactria.† In Asia they took possession of a vast tract of country, a part of which, called the Plain or Marsh of Asia,‡ reminds us of the Ases; and, moreover, this part was situated between Smyrna and Ephesus, two cities the inhabitants of which look upon the Amazons as their founders. Amazonius was the earlier name of the Tanais, because the Amazons used to bathe in its waters.§ And, lastly, it was also supposed that there were Amazons in Africa, with a view, no doubt (as in the case of the warriors of Taunasis), of making them march from the banks of the Nile to the conquest of Asia.‖

It is not my intention to follow Jornandes¶ through all his details of the many expeditions engaged in by the Scythian Amazons; suffice it to observe, that their first triumphs were achieved in a country which had been conquered by their husbands, but which had revolted during the absence of their victors, at the Pylae Caspiae, at the foot of Mount Caucasus, *i. e.*, of the mountain of the Ases; and when, after a rule of a century, disastrous events compelled them to

* See § 73. † Polyaen. Stratagem., lib. i., c. i.

‡ Virgil. Æneid, lib. vii., vers. 701, 702.

§ Treatise on Rivers and Mountains, attributed to Plutarch, c. xiv.

‖ Diodor. Sic., lib. iii., c. xxviii.

¶ Jornandes. De Rebus Geticis, c. xxiii., xxiv.

relinquish their conquests and to return within their ancient limits, they again sought refuge amongst the rocky heights of Caucasus.

Pomponius Mela places the Hyperboreans beyond the Amazons, beyond the Caspian tribes;* according to Plutarch† the Amazons inhabited that portion of Caucasus which overlooked the Hyrcanian sea; his description and that of St. Clement of Alexandria,‡ who thought they lived somewhere near Iberia, bring us very close to the country occupied to this day by the Ases or Osseti.

St. Clement is also of opinion that there were Amazons amongst the Sarmatians, thereby confirming what is said by Herodotus§ that some Amazons who had been brought as captives in Greek ships succeeded in murdering their captors. After being tossed about at the mercy of the winds and waves in ships which they could not steer, they landed on the west bank of the Tanais, in the midst of a Scythian people, whose language they could not understand. However, they found husbands there, whom they persuaded to recross the Tanais and to proceed in an easterly direction, intending all the while to draw them nearer to their native country. The Sarmatians of that region were the result of the union between the Amazons and the Scythians of Europe. The historian observes that they spoke the language of their forefathers, though imperfectly, for it was not the language of their mothers. And in point of fact the Amazons, like the Ases (the Scythians or the Goths of Jornandes), spoke a dialect derived from the Zend and Pehlvi; the Scythians

* Pompon. Mela, lib. i., c. ii. † Plutarch. in Pompeio, c. xxxviii.
‡ Clement. Alex. Stromat., lib. iv.
§ Herodot. lib. iv., c. cx.—cxvii. Plin. Hist. Nat., lib. vi., c. vii.

with whom they intermarried spoke a Sclavonic dialect. At the commencement of our era, the two dialects were still spoken at the same time on the shores of the Euxine; Ovid, when at Tomi, describes the surrounding tribes of Sarmatians and Getae* by the characteristic differences of the languages they spoke. But, without making the same distinction, both Greeks and Latins have generally given the name of Scythians to the two nations equally, notwithstanding their great differences of language and origin; and hence much confusion and discussion have been caused amongst modern authors.

Herodotus tells us that by the Scythians, the Amazons were named Aior-pata, men-killers, from aior, man, and pata to kill. In which of the two dialects must we search for the derivation he gives? If, as I imagine, we must look for it in the language spoken by the Amazons and the Caucasian tribes, *i. e.*, the first people with whom they fought, the name may signify, "One who overthrows the horsemen," or, "the destruction, the scourge of horsemen,"† i. e., *of the men*, amongst a people who only acknowledge the warrior class as *men*.

Did the Amazons ever exist as a nation? We can hardly

Did the Amazons ever

* Nam didici Geticè Sarmaticèque loqui. Ovid. De Ponto, lib. iii., epist. ii., v. 40.

† In Pehlv'i, *aïoraz* means *horseman*. In Zend, *veeté* signifies *he overthrows* (Zend-Avesta, vol. ii., pp. 459 and 482). It is well known that the letter *V* in Zend words is frequently changed into *P* in the Pehlv'i dialect. More simply still, we may derive the expression *pata* from the radical word *péetiâré*, absorbed in evil, source of destruction, a living calamity, a radical word which is also traced in the Persian word *bad*. Jules Klaproth is of opinion that the surname Aïorpata, mentioned to Herodotus by some Armenian, is derived from *aïr*, a man, and *sban* or *sbanogh*, a murderer, in the Armenian language. (Voyage au Mont Caucase et en Géorgie, vol. i., p. 655, of the German edition.)

constitute a nation?

believe it; and yet it would be equally difficult to deny that in the Caucasian district (in which women certainly had fought with the soldiers of Pompey, and from which the female warriors had sprung whose armour Lamberti had looked upon with wonder,) there had been seen, in periods more remote, women whose constant custom it was to fight by their husband's side, to meet the enemy in their husband's absence, and when in pursuit of their vanquished foes to cause their courage to be dreaded even beyond the limits of their own country. I think, then, that it has been satisfactorily proved that their name (when translated in their own dialect) reveals their true origin, and that the attempts made by Greek authors to find a meaning for the name in the Greek language are sufficient to account for the fables regarding the seared or mutilated breast, as well as the alleged horror of any intercourse with men, supposed to have been entertained by these female warriors. The courage of the women who fought with the Portuguese was sufficiently well known to account for the fact that in districts more or less remote, Orellana may have heard the American natives say that these female warriors exercised exclusive dominion over vast tracts of country.* The same cause may have produced similar effects five and twenty centuries earlier, and this all the more easily, inasmuch as the heroines of the Caucasus had distinguished themselves without the aid of their husbands. The recollection of the dominion of the Scythians in Asia, joined to the history of their companions, was amply sufficient to gain for the Amazons the credit of possessing that extensive and

* Christophe d'Acuna. Relation de la Rivière des Amazones, &c., vol. iii., c. x.

lasting power the tradition of which has been handed down to our own times.

How the pictures of the Amazons originated.

Here, however, I think I can trace a still stronger influence at work. A considerable number of cities in Asia Minor had, according to tradition, been founded by the Amazons, they were generally named after some Amazon, whose image was also struck upon their medals.* What was the Amazon then but a local deity, the good genius of the city, the city itself deified? This is further proved by the mural crown with which its head was frequently adorned. The name Amazon, in one of the oldest of the Asiatic languages, meant the wife of one of the Ases, one of the warrior demigods, and no records of history or mythical tradition ever contradicted that glorious origin. It is no matter of surprise then, that when they wished to represent their local deity, some nations expressed that representation by the picture of one of these warlike goddesses who, no less than the heroes of the other sex, were a symbol of courage and victory.

For the same reason, whenever the enemies of the Amazonian tribes proved victorious, they would naturally fill their trophies, their pictures, and in course of time their historical traditions with representations of vanquished or dying Amazons dragged into captivity at their victor's feet. Such, I think, are the sources from which the writers of antiquity†

* See the various medals engraved in Guyon's Life of the Amazons, and in the text of the same work, 2nd part, pp. 165-167.

† Herodot. lib. ix., c. xxvii. Plutarch. in Theseo, c. xxv., xxvi. Lysias. Epitaph. log. Arrian. Exped. Alexandr., lib. vii., c. iv. Justin. lib. ii., c. iv. Diodor. Sic., lib. iv., c. vii. Pausanias, Attic. c. xv. Isocrat. Panathenaic. Larcher, (translation of Herodotus, 2nd edition, vol. iii., pp. 521, 522, and vol. vi., pp. 108-110) admits the reality of this expedition.

have drawn their accounts, in order to prove that the Amazons signalized their valour even within the walls of Athens, and by their graves enhanced the glories of a country which was destined to become famous in so many various ways. We see nothing in that expedition beyond one of those wars which brought the Asiatic races into Eastern Europe, and for which the destruction of Troy was a bloody reprisal. And accordingly we find that it was into Cappadocia, in Asia Minor, that Eurystheus sent Hercules to fight the Amazons; and it was from Cappadocia that the Amazons proceeded into Attica to wreak their warlike vengeance. Our explanation does not even require the presence of a few female warriors in the ranks of the assailants, yet it is probable that some were present, for they had a body of Scythians with them as an auxiliary force.*

The Athenians used to offer public sacrifices to the Amazons; did they by these seek to propitiate the deities of the countries they had conquered, or, in obedience to the religious sentiment which had taught them that an Amazon had become the wife of the hero by whom their city had been founded, did they intend to do homage to the sex of their own presiding deity, the female warrior Pallas.

Cities supposed to have been founded by the Amazons.

Does the name Themis (which is found in Themiscyra, joined to a word by which the sun is described as the life of the world)† belong to the language of the Amazons, or has it been translated into Greek? I cannot venture to decide

* Diod. Sic., ibid.; Isocrat., ibid.; Justin., ibid. According to Justin, Panasagoras the king's son was at the head of the Scythians. This seems to be more of a Greek than a Scythian word. It is, probably, like many others, an imperfect translation. Pan-as-agora, *i. e.*, assembly, decree or magistrate of all the Ases.

† See § 94.

positively; but the goddess who bore that name, the first wife of Jupiter, became the mother of the four seasons;* Themis was the heavenly virgin, the emblem of prolific nature, which may be proved by the emblem used as an object of worship in the celebration of her mysteries.† The city named after Themis, of which she was probably the presiding deity, must have been an Amazonian city; according to tradition, Themiscyra had been founded by the Amazons, and had been the capital of their empire in Asia.

Such names of Amazons as are quoted by Greek writers, belong almost without an exception to the Greek language.‡ The names of local divinities are always derived from the national idiom; and Greek was spoken in the cities of the Amazons, in Smyrna, Myrina, Cyme, Thyatira, and, last of all, in Ephesus, where the famous statue of Diana, and even her temple, had been built (so said tradition) and consecrated by the Amazons.§

According to a tradition, which may have some good historical foundation, the Amazons were connected with the river Thermodon. The Thermodon of Cappadocia was so named‖ when the Amazons reached its banks, and at a later period the same name was given to the river Hermus,¶ in Ionia, on the banks of which the Amazons again had settled. So

* Pausanias. Eliac., lib. i., c. xvii. Pindar. Fragment.

† Quin etiam Themidis arcana symbola . . . . pecten muliebris quem honeste et mystice licet dicere pudendum muliebre. (S. Clement. Alex. Orat. adhort. ad Gentes.)

‡ See these names in the works of Hyginus, Palaephatus, &c.

§ Pausanias, Messen., c. xxxi.; Pompon. Mela, lib. i., c. xvii.; Solin., c. xliii.

‖ Dionys. Perieget., vers. 774, 780.

¶ Pompon. Mela, lib. i., c. xvii.

significant a name* must have been common to many streams. It was given in Bœotia to a small river which has since been immortalized by the defeat at Chæronea, after which its name was changed. Many tombs of Amazons were found there, together with the ancient emblem of a warrior supporting a wounded Amazon in his arms.†

Instances of wars in which Amazons took part.

A fierce war, say the mythologists, arose between Perseus, king of Argos, and Bacchus, king of Thebes. Many women who fought in the ranks of Bacchus fell in battle, and their graves‡ were afterwards exhibited. In this case, also, it will not be absurd to suppose that women may have taken part in the fray; but we cannot allow that the Theban warriors had them as auxiliaries. The mysterious§ worship offered by the Thebans at the tomb of Dirce (a tomb the mere situation of which was kept a secret), is a sufficient indication that Dirce was the tutelary goddess of Thebes. Chæronea was formerly called Arne, the name of the daughter of Æolus;‖ similarly, most of the towns in Bœotia had feminine names;¶ hence the deities of those cities were goddesses whose statues, armed and adorned with mural crowns, represented Amazons, and when new tribes came and expelled the older ones, may have become the trophies of the victors.

The Bœotians of Alalcomenae pretended that Minerva was born in their country, on the banks of the river Triton,**

* It is supposed to mean an impetuous rush or current of water.

† Plutarch. in Theseo, c. xxvi.; and in Demosthene, c. xxi., xxii. The river Thermodon in Bœotia was called Haemon, after the disaster at Chæronea, from *αἵμων*, bloody.

‡ Pausanias. Corinthiac., c. xx., xxii.

§ Plutarch. De Daemon. Socrat.

‖ Pausanias. Bœot., c. xl.

¶ Idem, ibid., c. l.

** Ibid. Bœot., c. xxxiii.

whereas the more commonly received traditions pointed to Libya,* and the shores of the lake Tritonis, as the birth-place of the goddess. With a view to connect this remark with our inquiries on the Amazons, it is hardly necessary to remind our readers that, according to the abridgment of Berosus,† the virgin who was born on the shores of the lake Tritonis, instructed the Libyans in all the branches of the military art, and that certain women initiated in the goddess' mysteries had overcome a king of Libya. Near the same lake, so says Diodorus,‡ there lived some African Amazons, older than those of Asia, and neighbours of the Atlantes, whom they subjugated entirely. In course of time the lake disappeared, the land which divided it from the sea having sunk down into the waves. Here we recognize at once the well-known traditions regarding the existence and the destruction of the Atlantis, traditions so old that all true history must have been utterly obliterated by mythological accounts. But afterwards, Diodorus draws our attention to the fact, that the African women crossed Egypt in triumph on their way to the conquest of Asia: the husbands of the Scythian Amazons, when they had fought successfully in Asia, returned as conquerors to the banks of the Nile. Myrina, queen of the African women, gave her name and that of her most illustrious companions in arms to the cities she had either founded or conquered; the Scythian Amazons had done the same, and the name Myrina is that of a city which claimed to have been founded by the Amazons. It

* Servius, in Æneid, lib. ii., v. 171; Isidor. Hispal., lib. viii., c. xi. Aristophanes applies the epithet, Sun-burnt, tawny, to Minerva (Lysistrata).

† Beros. Antiq. Babylon., lib. v.

‡ Diod. Sic., lib. iii., c. xxvii., xxviii.

would seem, then, that the African account had merely been borrowed from the history of Asia.

We must not, however, fail to notice the victories said by Diodorus to have been won by the Amazons on the northern coasts of Africa, and what he tells us of the Gorgons, the rivals in fame of the Amazons of Libya. We are immediately reminded of the fact, that of the sons of Ægyptus, six were sons of the Gorgons*—wives of an inferior rank, captives whom no doubt the rights of war had brought to the nuptial couch of their conqueror. We call to mind, also, that one of the daughters of Danaus bore the name of Gorgophone,† a name which Perseus, the conqueror of the Gorgon Medusa,‡ gave to his daughter; and, lastly, we also remember that the Danaides seconded their father most valiantly when he fought the armies of Ægyptus§ on the banks of the Nile. Is there not some historical foundation for all this, and may not the burning sands of Africa, like the ice-bound passes of Caucasus, have given birth to heroines? It cannot be denied, especially when modern travellers tell us that there are still female warriors in the chosen troops of the Empire of Monomotapa.‖ This much, however, may be asserted positively, that the custom of adopting warrior goddesses as national emblems, prevailed in the north of Africa as well as in Asia and in Greece, and that in these various countries the custom gave rise to myths and allegories, which were soon transformed by popular credulity into positive traditions. At a later period, the meaning of the name Amazons led the

* Apollodor. Bibl., lib. ii., c. i. † Ibid.
‡ Pausanias. Laconic., c. i.
§ Vet. Poetae Fragm., apud S. Clement. Alex., Stromat, lib. iv.
‖ O. Dappers. Description of Africa, pp. 390, 392.

people of Asia, but more especially the people of Greece, to mistake those pretended traditions for the true history of the warlike wives of the Ases.

SECTION LXXXIII.

THE NAME OF A PEOPLE MAY BE INACCURATELY RENDERED, AS, FOR INSTANCE, IN THE CASE OF THE BURGUNDIONES, LOMBARDS, AND BRITONS.

THE names of many a people, whose existence is by no means problematical, have similarly been subject to wrong interpretations, even in cases where no excuse could be alleged for ignorance of the language to which they belonged.

The people of Burgundy. Name explained.

Suppose we have to explain the name of the people of Burgundy, the Burgundi, or Burgundiones; nothing is apparently easier. A victorious people, they built "*burghs*," "*boroughs*," or towns wherever they could make themselves masters of the land.* And yet they are not so described by contemporaneous history; for they are said to have destroyed much and built little. Besides, before their victorious arms had spread over Helvetia, to the country of the Allobroges, the banks of the Saône and the Rhône—before they had crossed the district of Morvan and extended their progress to the

* Isidor. Hispal., lib. ix., c. ii.; Vita Sancti Faronis Episc., c. viii.; Ducange, Glossar.; sub voce "Burgus." According to the Abbé Longuerue (Longueruana, 2 vols. 12mo, Berlin, 1754, vol. i., p. 103), *Burg*, i. e., *Castrum*, means a camp or castle; and *Gond*, i. e., *clarum*, illustrious or famous, hence a famous camp or castle; but the people of Burgundy have never been said to have originated from any place called Burgund.

banks of the Seine and the Yonne, the people must surely have had a national name, and would have thought it beneath its dignity to adopt a designation which had been suggested by the caprice of the vanquished. And even if we take the explanation for granted, it only refers to the first syllable of the word; the second must have some value; and, moreover, it appears again in the names of several historical characters.*

Etymology of the name Burgundy.

Guna in the language of the Goths meant *a fight;* and *Gunt-fano,* which we have changed into *gonfanon,* or *gonfalon,*† the standard of the fight. *Buro* means a lance, an arrow. *Bur* is the root of many similar words.‡ *Buringe* is the labourer,§ the man who delves into, who tears up the field (inge). *Bourreau,* an executioner, and *Bourreler,* to torture, are French words, which are probably similarly derived. Hence *Burgund* means the lance of war, a people of warriors, who pierce through all that come in their way.

The *bard,* or *bairde,* was a kind of double-edged battle-axe, the name of which only, and not the form, is retained in the modern halberd. Warriors whose *bardes* could wound from a distance, i. e., *long bardes, longo-bardi,*‖ suggested the national

* Gondeband, Gondemar, Gontrau, Gundichaire, Gondegisile, Gundulphe, Guntharic, Gunthaire, Gondeuch, Gundovald, Gondeberge, Gunther, Gundling (a rector in Halle, in the year 1729); Cunegonde, Monegonde, Radegonde, Aldegonde, Fredegonde, Rigonde, and Gundula (one of the Walhyries of the Edda), &c., &c.

† Le Carpentier. Glossar. Novum, sub voce "Gunt-fano." Schoepflin, quoted by Le Carpentier.

‡ *Buro,* sagitta, telum. Burgalaisia, a kind of lance. *Burs* denotes the sharp point of the weapon; *burina* signifies a strife attended with bloodshed. See Le Carpentier Glossar. Novum.

§ Ducange. Glossar., sub voce "*Buringi.*"

‖ Graberg de Hemsoë. Saggio Storico sugli Scaldi, pp. 142, 143.

name which was given to barbarians who were as formidable as the people of Burgundy, and who came a century later from the north of Germany to the banks of the Adige and the Tessin, there to found the kingdom of Lombardy. The name has almost always been explained by the words *longues barbes*, or long beards, without even an inquiry whether the Lombards were distinguished from the rest of the Teutones by the habit of wearing the beard long.

Etymology of the name of the Lombards.

The mistake is probably an old one; the Μακροπώγωνες (long beards) of Strabo and Pliny* may have been Lombards, or if they were a distinct people, they may have adopted the name of Longues-bardes (long spears) as an appropriate description of their warlike habits, and subsequently it may have been as badly translated by the Greeks as it has since been by ourselves.

If a people derive their name from a favourite weapon, they connect some formidable characteristic with that title; but if they merely distinguish themselves by length of beard or peculiarity of costume, they will not adopt a name from any costume which must seem to them as natural as the rest of their physical life; it is a question whether more than one tribe could hit upon a characteristic title. The Gallow Glasses† (Blue Gaels), a warlike tribe who, in the fifteenth century, more than once punished the English for their subjugation of Ireland, owed their name no doubt to the colour of their clothing, or the shade of their armour.‡

* Strabo., lib. ii.

† Shakespeare. Henry VI., part ii., act iv., sc. ix. Le Tourneur, in a note to his translation of Shakespeare, says that Gallogla means a servant or peasant labourer; such a name would hardly be applicable to a warlike tribe. *Glas*, blue (Richards, Welsh and English Dictionary).

‡ Ossian mentions the azure-coloured weapons of the ruthless warriors

Etymology of the name Britons.

And yet a learned etymologist* derives the name of the *Britones*, or Britons, from the word *Brith*, painted, because they used to paint their bodies. He also traces an analogous meaning in the name of the Picts, or Picti, a people with whom the Romans fought in Caledonia.

The custom of painting or staining the body prevails wherever men go about half-naked, as a preservative against the bites of insects, or as a means of presenting a more alarming appearance to their foes; but even if such a title had been exclusively appropriate to the Britons, they would hardly have taken the name of "painted men" themselves. Their neighbours may have given them the name, but the Britons might not have been aware of it, and therefore would not have adopted it.

The name of the Picts is derived from the same root as the words Pictones and Pictavium, a root which may be traced in Poictou, Poictevin, Poictiers. We cannot for a moment suppose that the people who lived on the banks of the Charente and the Vienne would all at once exchange their own national name for a translation of it in a foreign and to them unknown language. Besides, we immediately notice the diphthong *oi* in the first syllable, a diphthong which the Romans could not pronounce, and which they rendered imperfectly by the sound of the letter I.

The *Picti* and the *Pictones* were probably indebted for their

of Isrona. In Temora, and several of his other poems, *blue* shields are slung on the arms of the warriors.

Gallow Glass is thus explained by Halliwell (Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words):—"An Irish heavy-armed foot soldier. He was in the third rank of Irish soldiers, but considered of great importance in battle. A heavy axe used by a Gallow Glass was *also* so called."—*Tr.'s note.*

* M. Eloi Johanneau. Monuments Celtiques, &c., pp. 45, 376.

names to their pikes,* their sharply pointed weapons; the name can be traced in the word *Picards,* which was adopted at a later period as the designation of a people whose skill in handling long pikes† was confessedly great in the time of Cæsar. The root *pict* or *poict* belonged to the Celtic dialect; it bore nothing but an apparent resemblance to the Latin form *Picti,* from which nothing can be inferred as regards the meaning of the national name of the Britons.

Prydain‡ was the first name by which the whole island of Great Britain was known; in later times it included Scotland, where the native population long withstood the attacks of foreign invasion. At the head of their armed tribes the Welsh and Caledonian bards used to chant the Unbennaeth

* The Welsh word *pwyth* (needle, sharp point) is pronounced somewhat like the first syllable in Poictou, Poictiers. Poy, Puy, Puey, Puesch, Pec, and Pic, mean a mountain or hill terminating in a peak or sharp point. Poincte, pointe, poindre, piquer, pique, &c., are words which designate either a sharp instrument or its effect; these derivations of *pwyth* justify us in thinking that there is nothing forced in the etymology which we suggest. The English sound of the letter B is pronounced Boi by the people of Poictou. (La Monnoie, Noei Borguignon . . . . ai Dioni (Dijon), 12mo., 1720, p. 140.) This variety in pronunciation will account for the change from *Poic*tiers to *Pict*avium.

† . . . . . Longisque leves Suessones in armis.

Lucan. Pharsal. lib. i., v. 423.

Picardus, in the twelfth century, meant pike-bearer or soldier armed with a pike (Ducange, Glossar., sub voce "Picardus"). The same learned author, under the word "Picardia," raises an objection and says that the pike was not peculiar to the Suessones, hence they could not have received a distinguishing appellation from any such source. Why not, if it was a national name? A people may call itself *strong, brave, powerful,* formidable from its *axes* and *pikes,* without caring to know whether any other people is distinguished by a similar title.

‡ Richards. Welsh and English Dictionary, see the words "Prydaen, Prydain, Prydin."

Prydain,* or hymn consecrated to the praise of their country, which contained a record of Saxon crimes, and vows of national revenge. The Saxon name was sufficient to kindle in every heart a fierce desire to remodel the constitution of the British Empire by the utter extermination of the stranger.

Pryd, beauty, noble features, or more probably *Bryd*,† courage, resolution, are the derivations I prefer; both denote estimable and brilliant qualities, in accordance with the principle of derivation which I have already laid down.

SECTION LXXXIV.

THE NATIONAL NAME OF A PEOPLE NEVER CONVEYS A HUMILIATING IDEA. INSTANCES. THIS MAY BE APPLIED AS A TEST TO DISCOVER WHETHER THE NAME BORNE BY A PEOPLE HAS BEEN GIVEN TO IT BY ANOTHER PEOPLE.

Instances of faulty etymologies.

STILL adhering to this principle, we shall not feel disposed to admit that the national name of any people can express an unfavourable or humiliating idea. After the national name of the Caels or Caledonians had been translated by the word "Stranger," there were some who thought that the term Scots meant fugitives or outlaws. The Irish who in olden times had come to live in the mountainous districts of Scot-

* Richards. Welsh and English Dictionary, see the word "Unbennaeth"—meaning monarchy or government.

† Ibid. See the words "Pryd, Prydus, and Bryd." Two Welsh colonies that have been settled in America for the last five centuries, still call the island from which their forefathers sailed, Brydon. See Revue Encyclopédique, vol. ii., p. 158.

land, were called there Yscottieid,* the very ancient men, the pre-eminently rich old men.

In the Scythian language, the name of the Parthians meant "wandering strangers;" it had been given to a colony of Scythians led by Sesostris into the region which from that time was called Parthia. Rather than believe in so fabulous a story, would it not be better to confess at once with the translator of the Zend-Avesta,† that the derivation of the national name Pars or Fars, is unknown, a name which enters into the Greek word for Persian (Πέρσης), into the Latin Parthia, and into the more modern Parsee.

In the old language of Prussia, *Bo* meant *after* or *remaining*. The name of the Borussians is derived, say some, from the preposition Bo and the name of the Russians, *i. e.*, laggard Russians, Russians who have remained behind; the name was applied to a tribe who had not followed their fellow countrymen in their victorious march to Kiev, Tver, and Novgorod.‡ Now a people who have remained at home, by their own firesides, surely, need no new name, more especially a name which reflected little credit upon their character. Besides which the name Borussians was well known long before the expedition of the Varagian Russians into Muscovy. Borossus, a Scythian chief, was father of Tanais, who gave his name to the river which had hitherto been called Amazo-

* Richards. Welsh and English Dictionary. Yscottieid, the Irish or ancient Scots (the Scotch). Ieid is the sign of the plural. *Ys*, which in English is expressed by *truly*, *indeed*, is used in composition as a sign of fulness, of excellence; *cott* or *coth* is an old man, an aged and rich old man.

† Zend-Avesta, vol. ii., pp. 427, 428. Fars, according to Chardin, means a horseman (Voyage de Chardin, vol. iii., p. 263). See also the note by M. Langlès, ibid., p. 365.

‡ Wagner, Mémoire sur la Russie, p. 179.

nius; the people who lived on the banks of the river used to anoint their bodies with an oil called oil of Borossus,* in order to protect their skin against the severities of the cold climate. These traditions seem to indicate the existence of a tribe of Borossi or Borussians, who, like so many others, had probably since then advanced into Germany, and given their name to the district in which they had settled; still, after all, we are compelled to acknowledge our ignorance of the true derivation of the name.

The story of the "Laggard-Russians" had also been told of the Gepidae. Gepanta, says Jornandes, means *slow, idle;*† the Gepidae received the name because they did not follow their countrymen till after a considerable time, when the latter left the shores of Scandinavia to proceed in the direction of Asia. Soon after, Jornandes notices the fact, that these tribes manifested their faithfulness to the spirit of their language, in calling the island on which they settled Gepida, because it reminded them of their native land, where they were similarly surrounded by rivers. Gepida must accordingly have meant *island, insular.*‡ A tribe of Goths may have borrowed such a distinguishing appellation from the place of their settlement.

Insurmountable barriers of snow prevented a tribe of Turkistan from joining the standard of Oguzkan; the king gave it a name which it has borne ever since, and which means the "severity of winter."§ The absolute power of

* Traité des Noms de Fleuves et de Montagnes, c. xiv.

† Jornandes. De rebus Geticis, c. xl.

‡ This etymology seems to be more accurate than the one we have already cited on the authority of Procopius. See § 77.

§ Cazlak or Khaslak. (D'Herbelot. Bibliothèque Orientale.)

the sovereign, the unquestioning obedience of his subjects, and the additional circumstance that the surname so given did not interfere with the original and national name, would all contribute to the credibility of the Eastern account, were it not that its similarity to the foregoing cases justifies us in questioning its correctness.

In point of fact the people of the East, even more than Europeans, feel a natural desire to connect historical facts of questionable authority with the accurate or even forced interpretations of proper names. One of their writers says that Afrikis, a Homyarite prince, was ordered by David to lead the Amalekites to the northern shores of that country which was called after him, Africa. The new colonists were discontented. "Berberna," (they murmur) cried their indignant chief, and hence came the name Berbers.* Now we know that Berbers, Berebers, Barabras, &c., respectively mean shepherds. Berbers.

Here the name of the Gafats may be quoted as an exception to the principle I have been endeavouring to establish. According to Bruce, it signifies "oppressed," "driven out," "torn away by force from their country."† But does the word bear that meaning in their own language? Is it not rather its interpretation in some neighbouring dialect? We have had occasion to notice mistaken interpretations of a similar kind in the case of the Arimaspi, and it is a mistake which we may almost always conclude to be a real one, Gafats.

* Shehabeddin, in his Book of Pearls, quoted in the Histoire Complète des Voyages en Afrique. French translation. (Paris, 1821, 4 vols., 8vo.)

† Bruce. Voyage to the Sources of the Nile, vol. ii., p. 225.

whenever the name of a people conveys the notion of a barely creditable character.

Serbi.

After gradually establishing themselves on the banks of the Volga and the shores of the Palus Mæotis, the Serbi,* a Sclavonic horde, penetrated into Dacia and took possession of a province which after them was named Serbia. Serbi, pronounced Servi by the people of the West, becomes the plural of the word *servus*, which in Latin designates a state of slavery. The translation is adopted, and the meaning of the term is applied to the whole of the victorious nation, the Sclaves or Sclavonic tribes; and further, their name supplies most of our principle languages with the word slave. Such an interpretation may have prevailed amongst a vanquished people, who were easily consoled by the evident malignancy of the expression; but is it not well known that *slava* means *glory?*† And in order to divest the national name of any and every humiliating association, we need only enumerate that long catalogue of kings, princes, and warriors, of whose proper names it forms a part.‡ In times when a princess rejected the hand of a descendant of Rurick, and treated him as the son of a slave,§ because his mother was her inferior in rank, would so many sovereigns and warriors, men proud of their high birth, have given their sons names which would recall the idea of slavery. We may consign this fable to the

* Plin. Hist. Nat., lib. vi., c. vii. Encyclop. Méthod., Géographie Ancienne, article "Serbi."

† Lévesque. Histoire de Russie, vol. i., p. 18.

‡ Sviatoslaf, Iaroslaf, Isiaslaf, Mstislaf, Viatcheslaf, Czars or Grand-dukes of Russia; Wladislaf, Boleslaf, Metchislaf, kings of Poland; Rostoslaf, Mitcheslaf, Vseslaf, &c. Names of places, Slavensk, a town which stood on the spot where Novgorod was afterwards built. Pereioslaf, a town built in memory of a brilliant victory won by Vladimir I.

§ Lévesque. Histoire de Russie, vol. i., p. 160.

regions occupied by the story told of the Roman patricians, who were supposed to give their sons prænomina that meant bastard or son of a slave, Spurius or Servius.*

Alamanni. A translation may be inaccurate even though it be grounded upon the dialect or language to which the translated name belongs. The name Alamanni, or Germans, has been interpreted to mean a gathering of men of every tribe and of every kind. A better meaning is "noble men," or, "all *the* men," those who are pre-eminently "the men."

Marcomanni. The explanation given of the term Marcomanni by several writers of distinction,† is that it implied men of various nations established in the *Marches*. But when history begins to speak of the Marcomanni, the Teutonic race was not sufficiently large to be obliged to spread itself over the Marches, over those usually barren tracts which the Teutones as well as the Celts left unoccupied, in order to separate their own territories from the principal neighbouring tribes. Besides, why do we not trace the Marcomanni in all the Marches of Germany? If, however, this translation is better than the one I have suggested,‡ I should naturally be disposed to infer that the name of the Marcomanni was not a national name, and that it was given to the border population by the neighbouring nations who tolerated their presence there.

Abyssinians. An inundation had laid waste the vast tracts that are watered by the Nile and the Tacazze. Fourteen hundred

* See § 23, and § 24.

† Hermanus de Lerbecke. Hist. Comit. Schawenburg, p. 19., quoted by Ducange in his Glossary, under the word "Marcomanni." Pellontier, Histoire des Celtes, vol. i., p. 85, is of the same opinion as Hermanus.

‡ See § 75.

years before our era, they were repeopled by immigrants from various nations; this is expressed by the word *Habesch*,* from which we have formed our Abyssinia. The Abyssinians never adopted that name, though it had been given to them by the neighbouring people. When they do not call themselves by the name of their provinces, they receive the name of Ethiopians,† or Cashtans (Christians), or Agazzi, warriors. In the days of Ludolf, the name they preferred was that of Geez, a word which in the sacred language means free, liberty.‡

Inference to be drawn from the foregoing remarks.

The instance of the Abyssinians strengthens the opinion we have expressed regarding the foregoing cases, and shows us plainly the rule we ought to follow in our inquiries, whether the name by which a people is known is the one they give to themselves, or the one by which they are known to their neighbours. This is no useless inquiry. In the first place, a people leaves a memorial of its ancient language in its national name. This advantage is wholly lost if we only know a nation by the name it has received from another people. Secondly, from that moment we can give but very faint credence to the accounts given of its history. By its passage through a foreign channel, ideas have been altered, and most likely become deteriorated. In the third place, if, as it often happens, a tribe has received a different name from each of its neighbours, we can easily foresee what confusion must arise in its history, until we find out this mistaken repetition of the same individual under different titles. Scientific men deplore the obscurity caused

* Bruce. Voyage to the Sources of the Nile, vol. ii., pp. 216, 218.

† Salt. First Voyage to Abyssinia, vol. ii., p. 176; Second Voyage to Abyssinia, vol. ii., p. 244.

‡ Ludolf. Hist. Æthiop., lib. i., c. i.

in geographical inquiries by uncertainty respecting the true name of each nation;* we have now indicated one of its principal causes. Fourthly, when one nation has named another, be it favourably or otherwise, there must have been some communication between them, direct or indirect, a certainty which suffices to solve more than one historical problem.

It is most important, therefore, that we should be thoroughly acquainted with the manner in which one tribe or nation views another tribe its neighbour, for this will probably determine the name that will be given.

SECTION LXXXV.

ORIGIN OF THE NAMES GIVEN TO ONE NATION BY ITS NEIGHBOURS: FIRST, A FEELING OF EXCLUSIVENESS, DISLIKE, OR CONTEMPT. NAMES INTENTIONALLY ALTERED BY TRANSLATION OR PRONUNCIATION.

Force of the expressions We and They.

We and They. We, that is, the excellent, the powerful, the illustrious, the formidable; *They*, that is, the inferior in strength, in moral capacity, in fame, and in goodness. *We!* is the expression of a sentiment which awakes two equally imperious feelings in the heart of man, viz., pride and the need of mutual help. The one takes pleasure in those who resemble us either in the matter of locality or of the language spoken, or of the religion professed; the other draws out our feelings of affection for those who by such likeness seem to be connected with ourselves, and are by nature enlisted on our side as helpers in time of need. By the term *They*, we

* Malte-Brun. Coup d'œil sur les découvertes géographiques qui restent à faire. Nouvelles Annales des Voyages, vol. i., pp. 1, 14.

understand either a class of degraded beings who may be plundered and enslaved without scruple, or a class of mischievous beings who are ready to plunder or to enslave us, and whom we are always right in attacking, because by so doing we shall frustrate their own aggressive attacks. Amongst the ancient Romans, *stranger** was synonymous with *enemy*. In vain did Cicero† eulogize an imaginary gentleness of manners, which attempted to disguise the feeling of hatred under a less odious title. The etymology of the word *hostis*,‡ by which the idea is suggested of striking, driving back, or slaying, and the history of Rome, which is the history of all countries and all ages, contradict so philanthropic a conjecture. A broad line of demarcation has always been drawn between the terms *We* and *They;* a high wall of separation has always existed between them. The sacred books of Hindustan§ have divided the earth from time immemorial into two parts, Arya, the seat of the national religion, and Mlechch'ha. The Sassanidae claimed the title of Kings of the Kings of Iran and Aniran. The country of Iran meant the sacred land, where the pure law of Zoroaster prevailed. Aniran was the country of the unbelieving, and comprehended the whole of the rest of the world.‖ This distinction may be traced back to a very remote period, for

Other analogous divisions expressive of dislike or contempt.

* Hostis. Varro de Ling. Latin., lib. iv. S. Pompeius, Festus, sub voce "Hostis."

† Cicero. De Officiis, lib. i., c. xii.

‡ Hostire est comprimere, retundere (Nonius Marcellus, c. ii., sub voce "Hostire"). Hostia dicta est ab eo quod est hostire, ferire (S. Pompeius Festus, sub voce "Hostia").

§ Moore. Hindu Pantheon, Edinburgh Review, Feb., 1811. Annales des Voyages, vol. xxi., pp. 98, 99.

‖ Saint Martin. Mémoires sur l'Arménie, vol. i., pp. 274, 275.

Armenian writers conform to it as to a customary rule; they call the Persians Arik, the strong, THE men; and by Anarik they mean the weak, all those who are not Persians.* Arab, and Agem, or Agemi, the multitude, the nations, was the division of mankind usually made by the Arabs. The same custom existed amongst the Hebrews, who merely recognized those who were not descended from Abraham, as the nations (Ethnici, Gentiles) with whom they were not allowed to hold intercourse. Even as late as the seventeenth century, the Muscovites were in the habit of calling all strangers "dumb men" (nemoi); inability to speak their language was, in their eyes, to be deprived of speech.† All who are not Mussulmans are included by the Ottomans under the disparaging name of Giaours. The Chinese are charged with being equally proud. The Greeks called all people but themselves Barbarians. The Romans, who had styled themselves the liberators, but who soon became the tyrants of Greece, were proud, nevertheless, to rank themselves by the side of the Greeks in the more honourable half of the human race, and adopted the same form of expression.‡ Volney§ traces the

* The remark is made by the recent editors of the Chronicles of Eusebius (Eusebii Pamphili chronicorum canonum libri duo, &c., p. i.). We have a fresh proof of the intimate relationship that existed between the Persians and the Armenians, in the fact that the Armenians always gave the Persians their old national name.

† Lévesque. Histoire de Russie, vol. iv., p. 147.

‡ The Romans in earlier times had called themselves Barbarians, in opposition to the Greeks. "Plautus vortit barbarè,—Plautus has translated it into the Barbarian language." Thus does the poet express himself in the Prologues of two comedies imitated from the Greek of Demophilus and Philemon. Asinaria, Prolog., v. 11; Trinummus, Prolog., v. 19.

§ Volney. L'Hébreu Simplifié par la Méthode Alphabétique, Œuvres complètes, vol. viii., pp. 507, 508.

custom back to the land of Egypt, where it must have been used first to describe some native tribe of Africa. The very word, and the feeling of dislike which is inseparable from it, may be noticed amongst the Berbers, or Barabras, who, on the extreme borders of Nubia, are still objects of hatred to their nearest neighbours the Chellalieks: the name Barabras is a gross insult* if addressed to them, and is still detested in Egypt, where the shepherds had proved themselves such formidable enemies. From Egypt the word reached the Brahmins, by whom it is considered as insulting a title as it was of old by the Greeks.

For a long period, the expressions, Christians or Non-Christians, divided the human race into two great classes: the parts of the world which we inhabit have, unknown to ourselves, inherited the same prerogative. Beyond the limits of Europe we seem to look upon all other nations as an inferior portion of the human race.

Particular instances of the same kind.

If from generalities we now descend to particulars, we shall be able to notice the same feelings of hatred and exclusiveness manifesting themselves in each individual case, and increasing in proportion to the growing proximity of one people to another. The tribes who lived on the banks of the Konda are called Uschteks by their Tartar neighbours, *i. e.*, brutish, or wild;† we have changed the name into Ostiakes. So offensive an appellation, we may think, would be only deservedly addressed to a people whose mode of life justified the name. Tartary is not the only place where such instances of rudeness and grossness abound. When the Albanians, whose agility is only equalled by their intrepidity,

* Nouvelles Annales des Voyages, vol. xvi., pp. 291, 292.

† Wagner. Mémoires sur la Russie, pp. 193, 211.

call a Turk by the insulting name of Doudoun, on account of the slow and awkward movements which the folds of his ample garments force him to make, we recognize at once the traces of an old hatred, which has been deepened by ever recurring acts of oppression and robbery. Why do the English, when speaking of the French, still call them "our natural enemies?"* do they act consistently with justice and truth when they use that spiteful expression? How can we account for those insulting nicknames which are given by one nation to another, or, in the same country even, by the inhabitants of one town to those of another town; or, as in some cases, to fellow countrymen who have emigrated to distant lands.

For example, the *badauds*† (idlers, sight-seers) of Paris, and the Cockneys of London. Why does the Englishman, whose home is on the banks of the Thames or the Severn, give the derisive appellation of Yankee to the Englishman who is toiling for the commercial prosperity of England‡ on the

* The Gentleman's Guide in his Tour through France; written by an Officer, who recommends his countrymen not to spend more money in the country *of our natural enemy* than is requisite. (Fifth edition. London, 1772. 12mo.) The work is written with the impartiality which the title suggests. Most English writers are less frank, but they cannot be more unjust.

† Two doubtful derivations are mentioned for the word "Badaud." The one is connected with *Badaw*, the old name for the large boats that were formerly used in the navigation of the Seine-Inférieure; and the other, with a word derived from the Latin of the Middle Ages, or the Italian *badare*, to look at with attention, with a kind of ecstasy.

‡ In a work published in 1821 at Philadelphia (A Journal of Travels in the Arkansas Territory), Mr. Th. Nuttal is constantly in the habit of calling the citizens of the United States, Yankees. He further describes all the French colonists in anything but flattering colours, though for his acquaintance with them he is wholly indebted to the brotherly hospitality he received at their hands. Mr. Nuttal is an Englishman.

banks of the Chariton, the Susquehannah, or the Delaware? The use of these and similar coarse expressions of contempt and jealousy, has met with favour amongst a certain class of politicians, who delight in creating antagonistic interests, in order to facilitate their own schemes of government; they rule by dividing, and frequently persuade the oppressed to transfer some of the hatred which is wholly due to their oppressors to the very men with whom they should act in concert. The invention of such names arises from certain feelings of jealous dislike, which will always exist between one town and another, between one village and its neighbour, just as they do between one great nation and another, so long as people are not sufficiently enlightened to see that it would be to their own interest to eradicate the habit of harbouring all those narrow-minded and exclusive thoughts which are, unhappily, too natural to the human heart.

How feelings of jealousy or dislike may lead to the distortion of a name, and so to offensive meanings.

The same feelings will prompt an intentional misrepresentation, or a derogatory interpretation of a foreign people's name. The Issedones represented their enemies as one-eyed monsters. The *powerful*, the *valiant men* (Gallu), who marched from the banks of the Seine and the Loire, and had frequently struck terror into the very heart of Italy, were transformed by the Romans into *cocks* (Galli). The Scots were *outlaws*, the Parthians *fugitives*, the Sclaves *serfs*, and the Caels *strangers*. "The country of Sakita, of the Sacae, or Sakas of the ancients," says a learned geographical author,* "is the object of our inquiry. Sakh in Persian and Hund in the Gothic and Teutonic languages mean *dog*. Now, the Huns and the Mongols have always been remarkable amongst other nations for their canine physiognomies."

* Malte-Brun. Nouvelles Annales des Voyages, vol. i., pp. 12, 13.

The Persians included all the Scythians under the term Sakas, though they themselves only formed one of the Scythian tribes. The name may have been a national one, and in that case would convey some favourable meaning. In the abridgment of Berosus,* it is said that we are justified in translating it by the word holy, or consecrated to the gods. The ingenious conjecture of Malte-Brun is none the less admissible for that. A peacefully disposed people, struck by the hideous physiognomy of the devastating tribes, their oppressors, may have alluded intentionally to the meaning which, if the name were only slightly altered, it would be made to bear; it was a poor revenge, no doubt, but a very natural one.

The same result produced by mispronunciation.

If an alteration in the pronunciation of a word be the only thing required to produce an offensive allusion, the obstacle will soon be removed. Hence the national name of the Huns has frequently been associated with the word Hund (dog), both in the orthography and interpretation of several names of places and monuments.

An alteration in the name of a people may sometimes be caused by the distance of their native country, and the inaccuracies of travellers. A Danish writer† complained once that Buffon had created an imaginary nation of Borandians. When he used the word, which he had met with in certain books of travels that were worthy of little or no credit, a word, moreover, which the traveller La Martinière‡ uses con-

* Beros. Babyl. Antiquit., lib. ii. See note A, § 3 in Appendix.

† Klingstedt. Mémoires sur les Samoièdes et les Lapons (Copenhague, 1766, 8vo,) p. 8.

‡ La Martinière. Voyages des Pays Septentrionaux (16mo, Paris, 1671), p. 42, and passim.

stantly, Buffon meant to speak of the Bourats, or Bouraetes; and whatever his critic may think, he was right in asserting that they came from the same stock as the Laplanders and Samoyedes.*

Some of these, however, are unavoidable.

Other unavoidable alterations are caused by difficulties of pronunciation. The Japanese substitute the letter *R* for *L*, and call the Dutch or Hollanders, Orando;† inversely the Arbeni and the Arbenescians,‡ to a European ear, are transformed into Albania and Albanians. The name of the country of the Aghovans, or Aghwans, became Albania among the Greeks, because the nearest sound to the Armenian *Gh* corresponds with the sound of the letter *L* of other nations.§ We have followed the orthography of other nations, and so we have made the designation of the two countries homonymous, though the nations themselves are separated by the distance that intervenes between the Caspian and the Adriatic, and though the difference of their origin is clearly proved by the difference of their languages.‖

* M. L. Debuch asserts this positively. Voyage en Norvège, vol. ii., p. 150.

† Voyage de Golovnin, &c., vol. i., p. 134.

‡ These names, which are preserved in the Dictionarium Latino-Epiroticum of Ibarththé (12mo, Rome, 1635), are no longer used. According to M. Pouqueville (Voyage dans la Grèce, vol. ii., p. 508), the Albanians of the north were called Gulegues, and those of the south, Schypetars.

§ Saint Martin. Mémoires sur l'Arménie, vol. i., pp. 214, 215.

‖ M. Pouqueville (Voyage dans la Grèce, vol. ii., pp. 501–513) states, but does not prove, that the Schypetars are descended from the Albanians of Asia. The dialect of the Aghovans must be an offshoot from the Pehlvi; that of the Schypetars, or Albanians of Europe is, I believe, a branch of the Sclavonic language, which may still be recognized, though a great number of words from other languages have become incorporated with it.

SECTION LXXXVI.

NAMES DERIVED FROM OLD CUSTOMS, HISTORICAL REMINISCENCES, AND LOCALITIES.

But if it happens rarely that the national name of a people escapes disfigurement in some form or other, it happens still more rarely that a nation escapes the imposition of a wrong name by some one or other of its neighbours. The truth of the foregoing remarks will be incontestable when applied to the more ancient historical epochs, although it has never received sufficient attention in the study of geography. How could nations pretend to possess accurate knowledge when they were ignorant of each other's language, and when their knowledge of each other's existence was founded upon the vaguest possible information—information which was still further weakened by the number of channels through which it had passed. But in our own times, with the aid of the press, greater facilities of communication, more points of contact, gradually increasing intercourse, and better means of conveyance to and fro, it were easy to prove that most nations only know each other by the realization of the mischief they are capable of inflicting; and it is a matter of certainty throughout Europe that national names did not travel beyond the limits of their respective nationalities.

National names seldom

Out of their own country, the Some or Same, the Suomi or Somoladzk, the Oevon and the Chosowo,* are called the

* Wagner. Mémoires sur la Russie, pp. 192–194, 211. Scheffer, Description de la Laponie, p. 19. Mallet, Traduction des Voyages au Nord de l'Europe, par W. Coxe, vol. iii., p. 139.

widely known.

Laplander, the Finn, the Tunguse, and the Samoyede; the last is also called Sirojedzi* by the Russians. In Norway the Laplanders are called Finns, whilst the Finns are called Quaenes.† The national name of Bohemia is Czesta, and that of the Hungarians is Magyar. In Hungary the Poles are called Lengyel; Austria is known as the kingdom of Becz, whereas in Bohemia the same kingdom is called Ratauzy. In the two countries, Italians are called Olas, or Wlach (Wallachians), and the Germans receive the name of Niémec and Niémet.‡ This same name, by which they are also known in Russia,§ is given to the Nemetes, a tribe of Teutones who, nineteen centuries ago, lived near Spire, on the left bank of the Rhine.‖ How did the name of an obscure tribe, in the Sclavonic dialect, become the general name for the whole of the Germanic nation? It was no doubt the result of events now forgotten, which such slight

* The analogy between Same or Some, Suomi, Somoladzk, and Samoyedes is easily seen. The final syllable of the last name is traceable in Sirojedzis. Do these tribes belong to the same parent stock? I answer in the affirmative, so far as the Finns and Laplanders are concerned (see § 21, and Scheffer, Description de la Laponie, pp. 19, 150-152), but not as regards the Chasowos, who do not call themselves Samoyedes, and consequently have no point of resemblance, and whose language, according to M. Jules Klaproth (Asia Polyglotta) differs essentially from that of the Finns.

† Debuch. Voyage en Norvège et en Laponie, vol. i., pp. 279, 383, 445.

‡ Dictionarium Quatuor Linguarum (16mo, Viennæ Austriæ, 1641), pp. 463–468. N. B. Becz is the Hungarian name for the city of Vienna.

§ Nemetskoi Sloboda is the quarter of the town where the Germans live in St. Petersburg.

‖ Cæsar, De Bell. Gallic., lib. i., c. xii. Tacit., De Moribus Germanorum, c. xxviii.

indications as are contained in the name may possibly help us to retrace.*

Instances of names derived from peculiar customs.

A knowledge of the Kamchadale, Koriake, and Kurile languages might possibly explain the origin of the names by which the tribes who speak them are known to each other, and of the names also which these tribes give to the Russians.† I will limit myself to two instances, both of them easily explained. Brichtatin, or men who vomit flames, was the name given to the Russians by the Kamchadales, who thought that the explosion of the Russian fire-arms was caused by merely breathing upon them. The Toumougoutous, who make extensive use of the rein-deer, were called Koriakes by their neighbours, from the word Kora, which signifies rein-deer.‡ So that the name which is given by one nation to another arises frequently from some striking and remarkable custom. Such were many of the names of peoples that were either derived or translated from some other language by the Greeks. The Ἀμαξόβιοι and the Μελάγχλαινοι§ were so called, the former because of the chariots on which they spent the whole of their life; the latter, because of the dark hue of their garments; a colour which suggested a similar name in the case of the Siah-Poushas, or people with black garments.‖ The Americans of the United States are called Che-mo-que-non,¶ and Pachicheouks,** by their neighbours,

Russians.

Koriakes.

Ἀμαξόβιοι, &c.

North Americans.

* Lévesque (Histoire de Russie, vol. iv., p. 147) derives the word from *nem*, dumb, an appellation given by Russians to all strangers; but it is obvious that it was once a national name.

† Krachenninikow. (Histoire de Kamtschatka, &c.) 1st part, c. i.

‡ Krachenninikow, ibid., pp. 4, 6.

§ Herodot., lib. iv., c. cvii. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. vi., c. v.

‖ Nouvelles Annales des Voyages, vol. ii., p. 313.

¶ Ibid., vol. xi., p. 143. ** Ibid., vol. viii., p. 147.

who live on the shores of the Lake Superior, and by those who have their settlements near the mouth of the Columbia; the names signify long-knives, and men with coats, an evident allusion to the swords and hunting-knives of the white men and to their clothing.

Chinese description of another nation.

The Chinese, who had forgotten the proper name of a distant people with whom they had ceased to hold intercourse, described it as follows:—"The nation who by a talent peculiar to themselves, know well how to turn dogs to useful purposes."* They intended, probably, to describe a horde who, like the Kamchadales, used to drive dogs in their sledges.

Eurytanians.

The Eurytanians,† a peacefully disposed people in Ætolia, who were treated as barbarians because they were sufficiently wise to be conscious of their weakness and to live in fear of the whole human race, tried to ensure their safety by living in inaccessible caverns. In the Greek dialect of the Middle Ages, the name by which they were no doubt called by some neighbouring people, was intended to allude to the spacious caverns which they used as safe retreats;‡ but the name does not really belong to so recent a period; Lycophron§ mentions the Eurytanians, and Aristotle classes them amongst the inhabitants of Ætolia. However consistent the name may be with their mode of life, the explanation suggested cannot bear examination. It is more likely that the last

* Eloge de Moukden, p. 20; and notes, pp. 240, 241. The monument raised in honour of Tay Tsou records that he was acknowledged as lord over the people *even by that nation*, an expression which clearly indicates their immense distance from the centre of the empire.

† Pouqueville. Voyage dans la Grèce, vol. ii., pp. 205, 206.

‡ Tana, a grotto, a cavern. See Meursius, Glossar., and Ducange, Glossar.

§ Lycophron., Alexandr., v. 769.

syllable* has the same meaning as it is known to bear in the names of many other nations, and that the name of the Eurytanians is a national one, which, after a lapse of twenty-two centuries, still records the existence of a few poor householders who were once the owners of vast territories.

I have purposely dwelt at some length on this instance, in order to put the reader upon his guard against the most specious kinds of derivation. We tread on safer ground when we rest our arguments on historical traditions; it is only natural that the name given to a people by its neighbours should be intimately connected with the most striking incidents of its history. The possessors of the soil of Great Britons. Britain usurp the title of Britons in vain; the appellation Angles, or Englishmen, recalling as it does a warlike tribe,† the birthplace of which was situated near the country of Lochlin, is another vain attempt to bury the Saxon invasion and the Norman Conquest in oblivion. The troubles, and crimes, and atrocities, by which the Saxon invasion was signalized, were engraved in indelible characters in the memories and hearts of the natives. Saxon is still the only name by which the true Britons, *i. e.*, the mountain populations of Scotland and Wales, recognize the English; and the word Saxon never fails to kindle in their hearts feelings of the bitterest hatred, and an insatiable thirst for revenge.‡

* Tania—district, region, country.

† The Angles, a people of Southern Jutland.

‡ In Lower-Brittany the same name is still retained, and awakes the same feelings of resentment; Frappe-Sauz, Frappe-Saxon, are common surnames (Mémoires de l'Académie Celtique, vol. iii., p. 79). This circumstance would tend to prove that a common language amongst the Celtic tribes (although those tribes were widely distant from each other) had established more intimate relationships than we should have been disposed to imagine.

Ogors.

A tribe of Ogors was, once, more fortunate when making an invasion into Europe; the alarmed natives mistook the invaders for the warrior Avars whom they dreaded exceedingly, and paid dearly to save themselves from their plundering ravages. The Ogors took care not to undeceive them, and not to refuse the honourable and useful name which they had received by mistake.*

Romans.

The Greek Emperors, who called the inhabitants of Italy and Rome by the name of Latins, and by that only, had obstinately retained that of Romans for their own empire, their provinces and their subjects. It was a species of homage paid to ancient glories by degenerated successors, and yet it had an awe-inspiring effect upon their conquerors. The Turks still call the Greeks, Romans, and from that name have derived the terms Romania and Roumelia, which are sometimes applied to the whole of their European possessions. Owing to the period at which they first heard of the Macedonian conqueror, they always join to his name the epithet *Roman.*

Magyp and Magyur.

In the Albanian language,† the Arabs are called Magyp, and Egypt Magyur. We cannot avoid being struck by the similarity of these words to the national name of the Hungarians. The inhabitants of Epirus may only have seen an Arabian horde in all those vagabond tribes which for many centuries were scattered all over Europe, and were known as Gypsies, Zingari, Tschengenes, Bohemians, &c. This is by no means improbable; after enlisting under the Turkish flag, the Albanians have often occupied the territories of

* Theophyl. Simoc., Hist. Maurit., lib. vii., c. viii.

† Dictionarium Latino-Epiroticum. See the words "Ægyptus" and "Arabs."

Acre and Aleppo. In both cities a tribe of Chinganes* may be found who are frequently mistaken by travellers for an Arab tribe, because they usually observe the outward rites of the Mussulmans, whereas they really follow the customs and manners and habits of the Cynganis or Bohemians of Europe. Why then were these supposed Arabs or Egyptians mistaken for Magyars or Hungarians? Because the dialect spoken by some of their hordes, and more particularly by those who live a nomad life in Wallachia and Moldavia,† so exactly resembles the Hungarian language in sound, that it is easy for any one who is imperfectly acquainted with both, to mistake the one for the other. Moreover, the name by which they were known would also be given to the country or nation from which they were supposed to have sprung.

How one people may receive the name of a neighbouring people.

By a similar process one people may receive the name of a neighbouring people. A victorious nation may (without intentionally doing it) take the name of other nations, the place of which it has taken, or the name of the territory from which its inhabitants have been expelled. The Albanians call Persia, Bagdati or Babilonia;‡ the Germans, who in old times knew no other people than the Gauls, used to call all strangers Gallics or Welsches; Italy is still in German the land of the Welsches, Welscheland; the Turks call all Europeans Franks, without any distinction. The Province of Somkheth is the last of the Armenian provinces in the

* Olivier. Voyage dans l'Empire Othoman, &c., vol. ii., pp. 314-316.

† W. Wilkinson. An Account of the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia. (London, 1820.)

‡ Dictionarium Latino-Epiroticum. Sub voce, "Persia."

direction of Georgia; its inhabitants call all the Armenians Somekhi.*

A name may be suggested by relative position.

The name of a nation will also be frequently derived from its relative situation, and will indicate its position to the right or to the left, to the south or to the west, on the other side of the river or the mountain, or it will simply denote the name of the place where the nation has settled to live.

SECTION LXXXVII.

NAMES OF PLACES ARE INTIMATELY CONNECTED WITH THE NAMES OF NATIONS, AND FREQUENTLY ENABLE US TO TRACE THE LANGUAGE OF THE ANCIENT INHABITANTS OF THE COUNTRY.

Names of places derived from names of nations.

NAMES of places are naturally connected with the names of nations. A people usually gives its name to the country which it occupies. The ancients understood that the name Caucasus extended from the gigantic peaks by which Upper Asia is overlooked, to the mountains seen by Arrian,† in the direction of the north-easterly shores of the Euxine; when the Ases came down from the higher valleys, they no doubt continued to transmit their name to the mountains which (joining on to the former of the two mentioned above) made one continuous range as far as the Palus Maeotis. Many instances might be adduced of similar indefinite extensions of the name of a place, by reason of the slow and gradual removal

* Saint-Martin. Mémoires sur l'Arménie, vol. i., pp. 268, 269. Haïasdan is the national name of Armenia.

† Arrian., Peripl. Pont. Euxin.

of a people from a locality to which at first the name belonged exclusively.

The same derivation may be assigned to the word Ari, or Aerio, the old national name of the Persians. The name of the place where they lived in their infant state as a nation was Iran, or Aïran.* The Persians, however, according to some eastern writers, trace it back to Aïran, the son of Feridoun.† If, instead of being the country or people personified, according to eastern custom, Aïran be a really historical character, like the country over which he ruled, he may have received the name of Powerful, Courageous, Vigorous. A chief of the Suevi, who rose in arms against Cæsar, was called Cimbreus,‡ like the people whose defeat had immortalized Marius forty years earlier. The national name of the Sauromatæ, or Sarmatians, has also been that of three, if not of four, kings of the Bosphorus.§ Examples.

Another instance of frequent occurrence, is when a people adopts the name of the country in which it has settled. The Franks have left their name amidst the scenes of their conquests, while Spain has given her own name to her conquerors. Naples, a city upon which the eyes of Europe A people sometimes adopts the name of the country in which it settles.

* Saint-Martin. Mémoires sur l'Arménie, vol. i., p. 275.

† Annales des Voyages, vol. xxi., p. 99.

‡ Cimberius, Cimbreus. Cæsar De bello Gallico, lib. i., c. viii.

§ Antiquarians usually enumerate three of the name, *i. e.*, Sauromates, the first of whom, a contemporary of Augustus, reigned after the year 305 of the era by which dates were fixed in the Bosphorus. M. St. de Chaudoir has in his possession a bronze medal of Sauromates, on the reverse side of which the date 144 is marked. If this be not a mistake of the engraver, the Sauromatès it commemorates must have lived 160 years before the one who is usually considered as the first of the name. See Notes on the Collection of M. St. de Chaudoir (8vo, Geneva, 1817), p. 15, plate xxvii.

were for a few days anxiously fixed, gave its name to the kingdom of which it is the capital, and to all its inhabitants. And if the appellation Lingones was substituted for the older name of their chief town,* the Celtae-Parisii, when they gave theirs to the future capital of France, merely restored a name which they had themselves borrowed from the country where they founded it.†

Here I cannot forget that there is one name of a place which is peculiarly identified with our existence by the most endearing of ties, and of which I may say again, "it is ourselves,"—I mean the sacred name of our own native country. Shame on the man who only connects an abstract meaning with the name, who pretends to love his country, and yet can remain unmoved when he hears the place mentioned where he first drew breath!

From the top of one of the monuments that tower above its vast extent, I stood contemplating the magnificent city which has not ceased to be the capital of the civilized world; that hospitable retreat where every day some stranger finds a home, who in his writings may have shot his bitter calumnies at France, or by his actions may have done her the deadliest injury. Amongst the many wishes I formed for her unchecked prosperity, what countless thoughts crowded upon my memory: what changes had taken place in half a century; what great deeds had been done, the fruits of which were now withered and destroyed by the subsequent commission of infamous crimes! How many of our hopes and aspirations have been surpassed by the actual turn which events have taken; how many have been thrown back into the viewless depths of an uncertain future! Fame and pros-

* Langres, formerly Andomatunum. † See § 77.

perity, misfortune and degradation, have all of them alternated with each other, but always in extremes. When my native country is named, my heart yearns and my blood boils. I begin to tell over her disasters, and the outrages from which she has not been protected by even the sanctity of treaties. And were twenty-five years more to have passed over my head, feelings of indignation, emotion, and regret would at once start up at the hearing of that beloved name, and I should see the scenes of every day and every moment of my country's history, of all her glorious past, reacted as though they were present before my very eyes. Shame on the man who remains emotionless when his country's name is heard!

However, we must guard against an error which is frequently produced by an otherwise most commendable feeling, viz., that of singing the praises of our native land at any cost, rightly or wrongly.

We owe to this feeling a great number of false and ridiculous derivations. Patriotism may be pleaded in their favour, but a scientific inquirer must only take them for what they are worth. Accurate derivations in the names of places are of great importance in geographical and historical questions, as well as in the acquirement of languages. I feel bound to repeat it—generations of men pass away, but rivers, and mountains, and valleys, and even cities remain, and long retain their names. Ancient names of places are so many monuments on which the existence of the early populations of a country is commemorated, long after those populations have disappeared through extermination, flight, or gradual fusion with a victorious race. After the lapse of so many centuries, after so many revolutions and conquests, the

Names of places record the existence and name of their earliest inhabitants.

country of the Tocarii is still called Tokarestan; the rivers Sogd and Balkh still bear the appellations which they transmitted of old to Sogdiana and the capital of Bactria. From Cadiz to Ferrol, and from Lisbon to Pampeluna, it is remarkable how many towns, provinces, mountains, and rivers there are which were formerly known by names derived from the Basque or Biscay language,* and which still retain those names. In Illyria the names of cities, rivers, mountains, and tribes quoted by Greek and Latin authors, all belong to the Sclavonic language;† hence they prove that the Sclaves, so far as we know, were the first founders of the Illyrian cities and their earliest inhabitants.

They may also record the passage of a foreign nation.

Names of places may also indicate the passage of a nation through a country which is not the land of its birth. The names given by the Varagian Russians to the cataracts of the Dnieper prove that those warriors were of Gothic origin.‡ It would at first sight startle us to find a Dunum in Mœsia, and a Noviodunum in Scythia,§ if we were ignorant of the fact, that the general policy of the Roman generals rarely allowed them to leave a conquered country in the possession or under the charge of a native soldiery. Always anxious to defend a province by means of troops foreign to the station, they were in the habit of posting Lusitanians in Geneva, and Rhaetians in Lusitania; the chief town of the Lingones was occupied by Sarmatians, and Cilician legionaries grew old in Gaul. On the other hand, Gauls

* Alexandre Laborde. Itinéraire Descriptif de l'Espagne, vol. ii., p. 153, second part.

† Fortis. Voyages en Dalmatie, vol. i., p. 68.

‡ Nouvelles Annales des Voyages, vol. xii., p. 250.

§ Notitia dignitatum utriusque imperii, &c.

who had in this manner been transported to the banks of the Danube, would give names derived from their own language to the fortresses which their own hands had built.

Names of places formed by the union of the old language and the more modern dialect.

A language which in earlier times had been spoken, has often contributed (with the aid of a more modern dialect) to the formation of the names of places: this may be most easily traced in the final syllable of the word. I will only quote one out of many instances; the extensive tract of country to which it is applicable will justify the selection. In the names of several places on the shores of Lake Leman, the final, *inge*, is often found joined to Latin, Romanese, or Saxon words. If such a termination be found in a language once upon a time spoken by one of the nations who conquered that country, if it appear again as a final in the names of certain places where that language was usually spoken, we cannot mistake its origin in words where it is used in combination with terms borrowed from another language. Bleckinge, a province of Sweden; Thuringia, in Upper Saxony; Groningen, Flushing, Poperingen, &c., in Holland and in the Netherlands; Zoffingen, Meyringen, &c., in Switzerland, may all be included under the same head. Inge, ingia, ingen, are various formations of an old Saxon word, meaning *field.** The usually elongated shape of the field, *i. e.*, of the enclosure which belongs to the dwelling,† and the idea of property which is essentially a part of it, have sometimes led to the application of the term to a tract of land less in

* See § 77.

† Scandinavian habitations were remarkable for their similar form. "Vestiges of their mode of building may still be found in some of the long narrow houses of Copenhagen." (C. V. Bonstetten, Voyage dans le Latium, p. 105.)

breadth than in length; sometimes to a town or to a province, viewed in the light of its being the property of the chief or of the whole nation. Hence, the names which are characterized by this termination are derived from a Teutonic source, and wherever found they indicate the abode and probable rule of some German nation. Accordingly, we unhesitatingly ascribe the origin of the names of places contiguous to the Lake Leman to the people of Burgundy. Curted-inge, curtailed or shortened field; Med-inge, middle field; Peupl-inge, or Pupl-inge, poplar-field; Tan-inge, grotto or cave-field, &c. The same final can be traced in the name Martinengo,* a town in the Province of Bergamo, and there, too, there is an indication of the sojourning of a Teutonic people in the country; also, in the name of Marengo,† a place which has been immortalized by the victory gained there for the noblest of causes by the most wonderful man that has ever lived in Europe since the days of Charlemagne.

SECTION LXXXVIII.

DERIVATIONS OF THE NAMES OF PLACES. NAMES ORIGINATED BY CREEDS AND SUPERSTITIONS.

Names of places may contain allusions to old creeds and superstitions.

NAMES of places are frequently and from various causes the records of religious beliefs and superstitions.

The admiration one naturally feels for high mountains has

* Martinengo, Martin's field; it is also used as a man's name. The termination, inge, is found in many proper names, as, for instance, in the name of Raphaelingius (field of Raphael) the successor to the celebrated printer Plantin.

† Marengo, marshy field, marshy plain.

suggested such names as Mountain of the Gods (Caucasus), and Chariot of the Gods.* Another phase of feeling led men to look upon rivers as deities, probably because they are sometimes the formidable, but more frequently the beneficent auxiliaries of agriculture and the principal arts in which the industry of man is actively employed. The Agows of Damot† offer their prayers at the source of the river which is supposed by them to be the true Nile; they call it Abba, Father, Gzeïr, God;‡ All-powerful Saviour, Father of the Universe. The source of the river Tacazze, which has been mistaken for the sources of the Nile, is worshipped by the Tcheratz Agows,§ and even by the Gafats, notwithstanding the fact, that the latter deny any common origin with the various tribes of Abyssinia, and in point of fact do differ, and have always differed, from them both in language and in religion.‖ If we were to sail up the true Nile, the Bahar-el-Abiad, and could discover those sources which the Mountains of the Moon still keep secret from the investigations of modern travellers, but which they had not entirely hidden from the men who communicated their information on the interior of Africa to the Greeks, we should probably find

Caucasus.

The River Nile.

* See the Periplus of Hanno.

† Bruce. Voyage to the Sources of the Nile, vol. vi., pp. 580, 581, 626, 627, 790, 791.

‡ According to the writers in the Edinburgh Review (Feb., 1811,) Siris, the Egyptian name of the Nile, is not derived from Osiris, but from the Sanskrit Saras, a river; the name was given to the Nile, as to *the* river before all others (Annales des Voyages, vol. xxi., p. 77). This etymology does not affect Bruce's meaning of the word Gzeïr. The original name of the principal river may (to its worshippers) have become synonymous with the name of the deity.

§ Bruce. Voyage to the Sources of the Nile, vol. ii., p. 224.

‖ Ibid., p. 225.

there the same religious rites, and as scrupulously performed.

Though now robbed of divine honours in the country which it enriches by its annual bounties, the Nile has retained them in a few of the hamlets of Lasta and Dembea. When high-sounding titles and the enthusiastic devotion paid to the river have taken refuge in so humble a locality, it may naturally be inferred that they did not originate in that quarter; a narrow streamlet by which a few meadows are watered would never have suggested the names. It is in the country only where the river determines the fruitfulness or sterility of the soil by its periodical overflow, that the heartfelt gratitude of the people proclaimed it as the Saviour of Men; for by it they were preserved from the horrors of famine. The worship of the Nile may have commenced there, and hence, in Abyssinia, it may date from the period when a numerous immigration restored that deserted region to a state of populousness; the tribes who settled there, and who continued to advance along the banks of the river, introduced the worship which they had been accustomed to pay to the tutelary god of Egypt. This worship may be an older monument of a past civilization, and belongs probably to a period when the Nile and its confluent branches was (throughout the whole of the eastern portion of North Africa) the connecting link as it were of population and of commerce, the arbiter as well of political and moral as of physical prosperity, the god who gave life in the desert and taught civilization to a savage race.

The Nile is not the only instance, though a striking one.

The Nile is not the only river that has received, from the gratitude of men, titles almost equalling those of the Deity. It is not my intention here to quote the instance of all that

crowd of demi-gods and nymphs with which the brilliant imagination of the Greeks had peopled their rivers and their fountains. But without dwelling upon the case of the Ckuban, which amongst the Tcherkessians is called by a name usually given to their princes,* and not to mention the Ganges, which is identified with the goddess Ganga, and the Seine, which was probably worshipped under the title of some god before it was reverenced under that of a saint,† I may instance the spring which imparted all its beauty to the country of Ausonius, the name of which, Divona or Divine Spring, bore testimony to the worship which our ancestors‡ had formerly paid to it; besides this Divona I could instance the magnificent sources of the Versoy, which went by the same name, and gave it to the village of Divona, the trade of which was materially benefited by its rapid streams; not a traveller would have failed to describe the river if it had happened to be in England or in Switzerland, it is passed by unobserved because it is in France.§

Names of places suggested by feelings of superstitious terror and of gratitude.

Superstitious terror and also feelings of gratitude have contributed to the formation of many names of places. To some of their mountain ranges the Persians give the name Div-Sarau, *i. e.*, Mountains of the Black Genii. Malte-Brun is of opinion that they mean the chain of the Pernerian Mountains, and that the name is intended to describe the Siah-Pouchas, men dressed in black, the inhabitants of the

* Psisshe, ancient river; Pscheh or Pschi, the title of the Tscherkessian princes. Jules Klaproth, Voyage au Mont Caucase et dans la Géorgie (Bibliothèque Univers. Littérat., vol. vi., pp. 43, 44, 51).

† See § 71.

‡ Divona Celtarum lingua fons addite divis. Auson. Ordo. Nobil. urb. XIV. de Burdigala, v. 29-32.

§ In the Department of Ain, on the borders of the Canton of Vaud.

southern portion of the range.* Without absolutely rejecting that explanation, I venture to suggest a more general one, and one which would be applicable to instances of more frequent occurrence. The Elbrouz, a portion of the southern range of Caucasus, is called the Sacred Mountain by the Tcherkessians, who believe it to be inhabited by certain malevolent spirits, the slaves of a formidable chief.† The Persians admit the existence of evil spirits on the shores of the Caspian Sea.‡ They call the mountains which are on the border of Hindustan to the north, Koh-Kafir, the Mountain of Impiety; and Koo-Kaser,§ the Destruction of Men. The name, says Bayer,‖ is given on account of the severity of the weather, by which those mountains are rendered almost inaccessible. It is not improbable, that when Zoroaster had severed the provinces (by which this chain of mountains is separated from Hindustan) from any participation in the Brahmin worship, he intended that they should form a barrier against the return of the old creed; unrestrained intercourse between the people might have been injurious to his plans, hence he described the locality to his followers as the abode of unbelievers, and of the Dews or evil spirits. This would agree admirably with the system of what we may

* Malte-Brun. Mémoire sur l'Inde septentrionale, &c. (Nouvelles Annales des Voyages, vol. ii., p. 313.)

† Jules Klaproth. Voyage au Mont Caucase et dans la Géorgie (Bibliothèque Univers., Littérat., vol. vi., p. 41).

‡ Anquetil. Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, p. 373.

§ These mountains correspond with the Imaus and the Parapomisus of the ancients, that is to say with a part of the Caucasus, the name of which is easily traced in Koo-Kaser. It is an instance of the habit of altering proper names in such a way as to produce an unfavourable meaning.

‖ Bayer. De Regno Bactriano.

term *stationary* civilization, a civilization the end of which is to create objects of superstitious terror, in order that it may either keep a superstitious people at home, and so run no risk of their being undeceived by strangers, or to withdraw the notice of the too curious from places which are destined, from political or religious motives, to undergo a condition of solitude. Hence it is that the deserts of Cobi and Chamo* are believed by the Chinese to be inhabited by demons; demons are also supposed to live in the groves where the Rio Grande and the Gambia begin their course, and the inviolability of the springs from which these great rivers flow, is a talisman by which the whole of the country is saved from the attacks of the white men.† Whether the belief we have just mentioned be the relic of a worship paid of old to rivers, or whether Islamism invented it to counteract the custom by which its worshippers were ever led to retrace their steps towards the sacred springs, or whether it be merely intended to protect the trees that overshadow the river's source against the depredations of the improvident negroes, and so maintain its abundant supplies,‡ it is, at all events, a deeply-rooted belief in every heart, which would nerve every arm in its defence, were it profanely disregarded.

Names derived from that of a protecting deity.

In almost all religions the devotion of the believers and the interest of the priests have caused certain spots to be

* Nouvelles Annales des Voyages, vol. i., p. 15.

† G. Mollien. Voyage dans l'Intérieur de l'Afrique, vol. ii., p. 74; see also pp. 68-70, 75-91, 92-115, 117-120, 121-149.

‡ Mollien (Voyage dans l'Intérieur de l'Afrique) remarks, that the wells are situated at a considerable distance from the villages, in order that the trees may be protected against the destructive mischievousness of the negroes. The shade of the trees is indispensable to the existence of the springs.

placed under the especial protection of a heavenly being, whose name they bear. Several instances of this, not only in Christianity, but also in the religions of Egypt and of Greece, must at once be obvious to the reader's mind.

Sonnenberg, Sonnenfeld, Sonnenstein, in Germany, were doubtless so named in honour of the sun (sonne).

Freyenwald upon the Oder, Freyenburg in Belgium, were the forest and the town or borough of Freya. In both places traces of the worship paid to Odin's wife* have been found. Whilst many of the places quoted by Ossian contain some modified form of the name of the god Thor,† there are no traces of the name Odin in that country of Lochlin, where we suppose an old Celtic tribe to have existed in the third century, a fact which certainly confirms the opinion we have already expressed, viz., that the religious worship of the Ases had not yet penetrated into the country, and that the people found there by the Celts were only followers of the religion in which Auka-Thor was the chief deity.

Is the Sakyamunic worship older than that of Brahma? The Brahmins deny it, and try to represent the followers of Buddha as innovators. But the physical aspect of their own country does not substantiate these statements. From the point which touches upon the island of Ceylon, to the remotest corner of Hindustan, names of places remind us at once of the worship of Buddha, whilst Brahminism is very far from enjoying the same privilege. This cannot result from the circumstance that the Brahmins disdained to leave

* Nouvelles Annales des Voyages, vol. xiii., p. 288.

† Trathor, river; Uthorno, bay; Ithorno and Thormoth, islands, &c. (Ossian passim.) The same word is used in the composition of a great number of men's names.

records of themselves in monuments of such a character, for we find *Brama-Banan* (the abode of the Brahmins) in the island of Java,* and Bramin-Abad (the habitation of the Brahmins) on the right bank of the Indus,† names which prove beyond a doubt, that their religion had penetrated even into places far removed from the centre of their chief seat.

Places named after Brahma.

The names of many of the constellations, and more particularly of the signs of the Zodiac, may be traced in the ancient geography of Armenia, in the names of places, towns, districts, and mountains. The origin of these names, some of which are retained even to the present day, belongs to pre-historic times;‡ I think we must refer it to the time of Sabaism, a religion which is essentially astronomical, and which was superseded in Armenia by the introduction of the religion of Zoroaster.

Others named after the constellations and signs of the Zodiac.

Again, Sabaism seems to have been widely prevalent in ancient times in the land of Canaan, in Syria, and in Babylonia. It is not surprising, therefore, that in the country where Abraham lived, which was subsequently conquered by the Israelites, under the leadership of Moses and Joshua, there should be many names of places, and some few of men, containing either the actual names of the deified stars, or the epithets usually applied to them. This is quite sufficient to

* Essay on the Malays and their language. Edinburgh Review, April, 1814.

† The ancient Pattala, according to Barbier du Bocage. See his Analyse de la Carte placée à la suite de l'Examen critique des Historiens d'Alexandre (2nd edition, 4to, Paris, 1814), p. 834.

‡ Chahan de Cirbied. Mémoire sur la Religion et sur le Gouvernement des Anciens Arméniens. (Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de France, vol. ii., p. 291.)

refute the theory recently broached by a learned English writer,* who, with much ingenuity, and much display of learning, endeavours to prove, by means of certain translations of proper names, some of them literal, others less so, that several chapters in Genesis, and in the books of Joshua and the Judges, are merely astronomical allegories, hidden under the veil of pretended history.

SECTION LXXXIX.

DERIVATIONS OF NAMES OF PLACES CONTINUED. PERSONAL ATTACHMENTS; HISTORICAL REMINISCENCES; DESIRE FOR GOOD OMENS; PATRIOTIC REMINISCENCES.

Names of places sometimes record men's names.

NAMES of places, like all other names, were originally significant, hence many may have been names of men at the same time. Caiaphas, a name connected with the most important event in the annals of Christianity, is also the name of a town at the foot of Mount Carmel, taken in the year 1099 by the Venetians. The small town of Gamala records the name of Gamaliel, the teacher of St. Paul; and Magdalon, also the

* William Drummond. The Œdipus Judaicus. "These chapters," says the writer, "record matters which are not consistent with the justice, wisdom, and goodness of God; we cannot, therefore, admit them in the literal sense; they must have been allegorical revelations understood by the priests alone." The argument is fundamentally wrong. How can we admit, and what could be more at variance with the Divine Majesty than, that the God of Israel, when inspiring the writers of the scriptural record, should have permitted the insertion therein of events which were both untrue and blasphemous, and yet which were so drawn up as to be received as truths by *all* men who believed in Him, with the exception of two or three who were privileged to share in the understanding of the allegorical sense.

name of a small town, is the same as Magdalene, which is now frequently used as a prænomen in Christian countries. The Euphrates was formerly called the river Deglathius,* a name which is evidently connected with that of the king Tiglath-Pileser. Not far from the banks of the river Comba,† the careful attentions of a woman named Comba saved the life of the French traveller Mollien.

A general in the army of Darius, who was killed at the passing of the Granicus,‡ was called Niphates, which is also the name of a river and a mountain. Europe is a name by which we are at once reminded of the centre of the world's civilization: Europa is the name of a fortress built by Justinian in Epirus,§ and of another raised on the banks of the Euphrates, in the district of Commagene.‖ Εὐρώπη, a Greek name, could hardly, I think, have been borne by the sister of a Phœnician, whose king had sent him, not to rescue a princess who had been carried away captive by pirates, but in reality to found a colony on the western shores of the Mediterranean.¶ I am rather inclined to believe that this

* Eusebii Pamphili Chronic. Canon., lib. i., c. ii., p. 8. For the derivation of the word and its signification, see System of Geography from Malte-Brun and Balbi. Bohn's edition, p. 642, article "Tigris." Its extreme rapidity in this part of its course, caused by local circumstances, has procured for it the name of *Tigr* in the language of the Medes, *Diglito* in Arabic, and *Hiddekel* in Hebrew, all of which denote the rapid flight of an arrow. As the Tigris and Euphrates approach each other, the intermediate land loses its elevation, and is occupied by meadows, marshes, and deserts.—*Tr.'s note.*

† Rio Grande. G. Mollien. Voyage dans l'Intérieur de l'Afrique, &c., vol. ii., pp. 70, 144.

‡ Arrian. De Exped. Alex., lib. i., c. iv.

§ Procop. De Ædific. Justinian., lib. i., c. iv.

‖ Procop. De Bell. Persic., lib. ii., c. xx.

¶ Cadmus. Conon Narrat. 37, apud Photium, cod. clxxxvi.

was the name of several nymphs mentioned in mythology, and also of some other women who were celebrated for the beauty of their eyes.*

Greek accounts furnish similar instances, for with each town, mountain, and river are associated certain mythological characters from whom they are severally supposed to have received their name.

And yet we must not give too much importance to such a system of interpretation. When I dwelt upon the point, as regards more ancient times,† I drew attention to the fact, that the name of a place must often have been determined by that of its occupier. Similar causes, in modern times, have produced equally similar results. Every step we take we can trace the words Vale, Mount, Rock, Ville,‡ Borough, joined to the names of individuals.

Historical associations preserved in the names of places.

It has already been remarked, that historical associations are often preserved in the names of places. We find in them the names of princes, of men of influence, and sometimes even of heroes, and of men famous for their virtues or their usefulness. Such names live in the memory of nations, whilst others are vainly engraved on the walls of a city, the piers of

* Εὐρώπη, large eyed. As applied to a place, the name would denote wide aspect, extended view.

† See § 5.

‡ Ville, in the names of places, has nearly always the same signification as Villa, a homestead, a farm, open country; in this sense it is the opposite to Burgus, a small town or hamlet. The word, which was introduced into Gaul by its first Teutonic conquerors, has frequently been used to denote a private property. Burgus is the name of a country house described by Sidonius Apollinaris (Carm. xxii.). Notwithstanding its masculine termination, the poet makes the word feminine, because *burg* is a substantive of the feminine gender in German.

a harbour, the rocks of a bay, the coasts of an island, or the sides of a mountain; we pronounce the geographical name without a thought of him who bore it, and frequently he is the gainer by our forgetfulness.

The founder of a city usually named it after himself. Ardoates, the first independent sovereign of Armenia after the death of Alexander, sacrificed his pride to a more natural feeling of affection; he raised a magnificent city on the banks of the Euphrates, and called it Taluce, the name of his only daughter,* who was to him the object of the tenderest love. Nine of the cities founded by Seleucus Nicator† in Syria were named after him; sixteen were named after his father, and four after his wives.

A bold navigator is not denied the right of naming the country which he is the first to discover. When sailing round the coasts of the fifth continent, by the exploration of which he immortalized himself, Tasman remembered his love for Mary Vandiemen.‡ He has left records of the much-loved name of Mary in several places, and always in spots near those which he had named after himself.

The horrors of an intolerable system of slavery had induced the negroes of Dutch Guiana to fly from their cruel masters. Persecuted and driven to resist force by force, they strengthened enclosures and built fortresses. The names given to these points of refuge or defence§ indicated

* Chahan de Cirbied. Recherches Curieuses, &c., p. 207.

† Appian. De Bell. Syriac.

‡ The daughter of the governor of Batavia. J. B. B. Eyriès. Nouvelles Annales des Voyages, vol. ii., pp. 19, 36.

§ Stedman. Voyage to Surinam (French translation, 3 vols. 8vo, Paris, the year VII.), vol. ii., pp. 272, 273.

their state of hope or fear, and their common desire to set an enemy at defiance, who only secured their submission at the last, and that but partially, at the cost of much bloodshed and toilsome warfare.

Names suggested by a desire for lucky omens.

The same place must naturally witness all the changes of many successive generations of inhabitants; hence names of places, more even than names of men, will contain allusions to the desire of embellishing their future existence, and of securing long duration, glory, and welfare by using presages of good omen in the name.

The reigning dynasty of China has consecrated a place on a particular mountain, where the imperial burials are to take place, and named it Young-ling, "Imperishable Burial-place." The preceding dynasty had fallen like so many before it; the Mandshus have effaced even the records of their power and rights by the utter destruction of their sepulchral monuments, just as the desecration of their own graves will some day proclaim the accession of a new dynasty,* and yet they consecrate *imperishable burial-places;* so powerless are the lessons of experience against the blindness of pride, so great is the charm found by a credulous hope in names of favourable import.

To the philosopher alone (and to him even, only during the few moments which he may enjoy of freedom from the attacks of the malicious and the vicissitudes of life) it properly belongs to call his humble retreat by the old name of the palaces of the kings of Ireland, Temora, the abode of happiness. Many like names would seem to intimate that the gates of palaces are closed against the possible entrance of cares and anxieties. "Fine names rarely make us happy," was said

* Eloge de Moukden, &c. Notes, p. 207.

by the most brilliant wit of Europe;* happy is the man who can enjoy a continuation of the short-lived illusion in which the name originated.

Names of places containing patriotic and other reminiscences of affection.

An equally charming illusion is that which leads travellers to reproduce (as it were) the country they have left, by giving to fresh shores on which they may have landed the names of spots in which their childhood was spent, or where they have left behind them a wife and children longing for their return. True to such a feeling, founders of colonies have often left lasting memorials of their national glory in places where, some day, all other traces of their presence will have disappeared. On the west coast of Italy, the promontory of Circe (Monte Circello) is the only memorial of the fact, that more than 3000 years ago certain navigators started from the banks of the Phasis, and from the plain of Circe, and effected a settlement there. In spite of slight changes, in the Engadine district in the Canton of the Grisons, travellers may recognize the names of Lavinium, Falisci, Ardea, and at a short distance from these places may still find the river Albula, so that they might imagine themselves transported into the heart of Latium. Besides the evidence furnished by the existence of a Ladin language, which differs but little from pure Latin, such names tend to

* L'art n'y fait rien, &c.
J'ai vu l'Abbesse de la Joie
Malgré ce titre, à la douleur en proie.
Dans Sans-Souci, certain roi renommé
Fut de soucis quelquefois consumé.

Art cannot alter this. Notwithstanding her joyous title, I have seen the Abbess de la Joie a prey to grief; and in Sans-Souci, a palace in name so free from care, a certain well-known king was sometimes bowed down with grief.

prove the common origin of the Rhæti (Rascenæ, or Rasenæ) and the ancient Etruscans, whether, as some Latin authors think, the Etruscans sent out a colony to the heart of the Alpine districts, or whether, as is more probable, and more consistent with the tradition of the Grisons, the Rhæti came down from their own barren and icy peaks to the fertile fields and more temperate climate of Italy.

The priest who travels into distant lands to spread the influence of his religion, will similarly delight to recall the name of the holy city where its chief temple stands; hence Epirus, like Thessaly, had its Dodona,* famous for the oracles of Jupiter. Again, people who are forced to emigrate, through fear of approaching famine, war, or persecution, will try to throw some delusive veil over their vain and fond regrets. When an exile from Salamis, Teucer sailed to the island of Cyprus, and there founded another Salamis. The Albanians, after they had been dispersed by the effects of war, gave the name of Albania† to all the places where they effected fresh settlements. The Belgians, who had settled on the coasts of England, gave the names of their own native towns to their new settlements.‡

Similar instances are so common in modern times that it would be useless to enumerate them.

It may sometimes happen that a striking similarity between a place which we see for the first time and some other place dear to us, but from which we have long been absent, may, with the more common feeling of national pride, have

* Dansse de Villoison proves the existence of two Dodonas in his Commentaries on Homer, Iliad, xvi., v. 283.

† Arvanita Choria. (Pouqueville. Voyage dans la Grèce, vol. iv., p. 595.)

‡ Cæsar. De Bello Gallico, lib. v., c. v.

contributed to the naming of new places by old and well-known names.

This portion of our subject is naturally connected with the most fruitful source from which names are derived, viz., the desire to express by a name the feelings we experience on first seeing a place.

SECTION XC.

DERIVATIONS OF NAMES OF PLACES CONTINUED. GENERAL APPEARANCE AND PHYSICAL PECULIARITIES; LOCALITIES MAY BE DESCRIBED IN A PLAIN AND SIMPLE, OR IN A FIGURATIVE STYLE; RESULTS OF THE USE OF A FIGURATIVE STYLE.

General names become particular by custom and use.

THE island, the hamlet, the town, the river, are general substantives which in conversation are constantly becoming particular names; they describe adequately the best known and the nearest things of the kind; I am going, for instance, to *the town*, or, *the river* flows in front of our house.

Habit sometimes leads to the naming of a place* by one of these generic appellations, as, for example, in the case of Bourg, the chief town in the department of Ain, and L'Ile, a pretty looking little town near the fountain of Vaucluse, and surrounded by two branches of the Sorgue. In the case of a lake in Acarnania, the old Greeks retained the name of Ozeros, which in the Sclavonic language means a lake, a name which, no doubt, emanated from the Triballi, or Scytho-Sclaves, the original occupiers of the locality.† In

* See § 2. † Pouqueville. Voyage dans la Grèce, vol. iii., p. 126.

our own times, the people of Greece call Sparta, Mistra, or Misithra, *i. e.*, the capital.*

Canada, &c. In the Canadian language, Canada meant a town, a cluster of houses;† the word which, no doubt, the natives often repeated in the hearing of European travellers, as they approached some of their villages, we now use to describe a vast country. In the desert of Kurdistan, between Nisibis and Mosul, the villages are so far apart from each other that they are not named particularly, but are merely distinguished by the general appellation of Belad, or town.‡

Medina, &c. *Town* is also the meaning of the name *Cartha*, an ancient city of Mesopotamia;§ of *Kelat*, the capital of Beloochistan;‖ and of *Chieri*,¶ in Piedmont. The meaning of Medina is the same—a name famous in Arabia as the burial place of Mahomet, and one by which, in several places in Spain, the ancient rule of the Mussulmans is recorded; a name, too, the frequent use of which in Boudon** proves the daily growing ascendancy of Islamism over the national religion and the national language.

* Pouqueville. Voyage dans la Grèce, vol. iii., pp. 480, 481.

† See in the Collection d'Hackluyt, Le Vocabulaire de la Langue du Canada, given by Jacques Cartier, and the account of the same navigator's second voyage in 1535.

‡ Voyage de Mirza, Abu-Thaleb-Khan, en Asie, en Afrique, et en Europe (French translation, 2 vols., 8vo, Paris, 1811), vol. ii., p. 174.

§ Notitia dignitatum utriusque Imperii, &c., cum Commentariis Panciroli, &c. (2 parts, folio, Geneva, 1623), part i., pp. 229, 230.

‖ H. Pottinger. Travels in Beloochistan and Scinde (French translation, by J. B. B. Eyriès, Paris, 1818, 2 vols. 8vo.), vol. i., p. 94.

¶ The Piedmontese pronounce it Ker. This is the Celtic word for town; it is found again in Carea-Potentia, the name which Pliny (Hist. Nat., lib. iii., c. v.) gives to Chieri. (Millin. Voyage en Savoie et en Piémont, &c., vol. i., c. xvi., p. 367.)

** G. Mollien. Voyage dans l'Intérieur de l'Afrique, vol. i., p. 309.

Stamboul, the Turkish name for Constantinople, is derived, they say, from πόλις, a city, the *chief* city being generally so described. With that derivation, which does not seem an improbable one, we might connect the name by which the capital of the Greek empire is known in the Sagas: Mikilaburg seems to me to correspond with Megalopolis, the great city. The Scandinavians never heard any other name, so they translated the latter part of the word which they understood into their own language, and the former they retained with a very slight alteration, as may be inferred from the pronunciation of the word by modern Greeks. Stamboul.

Ganga means a river, and the Ganges is *the* river beyond all others; this at least seems to be the idea generally entertained when we find so many rivers in the island of Ceylon alone, in which the word Ganga forms the termination. Aar, the name of one of the large rivers in Switzerland, means a stream of water; and, accordingly, you may trace it in the names of several mountain torrents or rivers in the same country, as in Lauteraar, Finsteraar, Oberaar, Unteraar, which signify, respectively, the clear, dark-looking, higher or lower Aar or stream.* Ganga and Aar.

Valleys of course form the natural divisions and subdivisions of a mountainous country; the word *thal* in Switzerland and in some portions of Germany, *dsor* and *p'hor* in Armenia, and *Khevi* in Georgia,† are used in the same sense in a great number of names of cantons and districts. Thal, &c.

In all similar names, the word which is joined to the generic noun in order to distinguish one valley or one river from another,

* The Latins had retained the root AR, in this sense, in the formation of the words Isara, Samara, &c.

† Saint Martin. Mémoires sur l'Arménie, vol. i., p. 35.

may be intended to convey the recollection of an event of local interest, either historical or religious; but it will more frequently be found to be either a description of the physical peculiarities of the places named, or an indication of the first impression produced by the sight of them.

Names of places which express physical peculiarities.

A mountain, in the neighbourhood of the city of Yedo, which is looked upon as an object of especial religious veneration, is called Jasan or Jiosan,* beautiful mountain. The name of Morven, which the harp of Ossian has immortalized, and another form of which is Morvan, or the mountainous portion of Burgundy, mean, respectively, great mountain or great rock. Mountains from which a far distant horizon could be seen all around† were often called Ida, from the word which, in Greek, means to see. Selma or Selama, the name of Fingal's palace, might be translated into Bellevue, or beautiful prospect. These are names which occur in all countries. Similarly, you may trace in every country the synonyms of Haute-Rive, Belle-Rive, &c. (High Bank, Fair Bank, &c.) Jariakhchi, beautiful bank, is the name of the river near the source of which we think the earlier settlements of the Arimaspi may be placed.‡

The name of a place is often determined by the tree or the plant which most commonly grows there. The name of the wooded plain of Thymbra where Achilles fell, and that of the small river Thymbrius which crosses it, were derived, according to the Greeks, from the name of their hero Thym-

* Kœmpfer. Histoire du Japon, (3 vols., 12mo., Lahaye, 1732,) vol. iii., p. 28.

† Hellad. Chrestomathia, apud Photium, Bibl. cod. cclxxix. Suidas, verbo Ida.

‡ See note B in Appendix. §§ 10, 11.

brius, a companion of Dardanus. Savoury or Thymbra, which grows abundantly in the plain,* probably suggested the name long before the arrival of the founder of Troy.

The analogous words to La Houssaye, La Chenaie, La Cerisaye, in the old Gallic tongue, were also feminine in gender, they ended in *ck*,† virtually the same termination. From the hills of Burgundy to the mountains of Savoy, we find it universally pronounced as if it were written *ey*, whereas it is really written sometimes *ec*, as in Ruffec; and sometimes *ey*, as in Vaudrey; and sometimes *ex*. Fernex is the true orthography of the name of a village,‡ the preservation of which was looked upon as a national victory, when the territory of France was divided by men who were called Allies.

The final *ex* in French Switzerland, like the syllables aigues, aix, ac, which occur in the south of France, denote the neighbourhood of a spring or of running water.§ This is so important a circumstance in the choice of a habitation, that it will frequently influence its name; or, more probably still, the name will be that of the brook or river.

The situation of an inhabited place may also determine its name; Sussi,‖ a dwelling on elevated ground; Issy, a dwelling

* Olivier. Voyage dans l'Empire Othoman, l'Egypte et la Perse (3 vols., 4to, Paris, in the year ix. and 1807), vol. i., pp. 245, 246.

† Kelennek, houssaye, a holly plantation; Dervennek, chenaye, an oak plantation, &c.; Legonidec, Grammaire Celto-Bretonne (8vo, Paris, 1807), p. 47.

‡ Fernex, aulnaye, a plantation of alder trees; Onex, frênaye, an ash plantation. Gwern, an alder; On, an ash.

§ If the final syllable in the word Fernex meant water, we might have imagined that the name was as old as the time of the invasion of the Burgundians, and derived from the Saxon *fern;* but alders abound in Fernex, and there are no ferns.

‖ *Zi*, a habitation, a house; *sus*, above, superior; *is*, low ground, in-

on low ground. Passy, the name of a place where the Seine was so long crossed by a ferry, means Ferry-House.* And yet in the district of Faucigny, not far from the mines of Servoz, we find a village called Passy, built on the sides of a steep rock, far above the foaming Arve, which the most intrepid boatman would not dare to cross. In the thirteenth century, however, the valley of Servoz was a lake through which the Arve flowed; on its right side was the small village of Passy, which in older times could boast of a temple of Jupiter and a Roman road, traces of which may still be discovered towards the interior of the Valais. Hence the village so named may have been situated at the narrowest point of the lake, where there was an easy passage from one shore to the other.

Figurative names of rivers and springs.

In course of time, names of places were invented with less regard for simplicity of derivation, and if we may so term it more boldly, they began to be founded on a real or imaginary similarity between the place and some physical object. The mouth of the Nile, along which we sail from Aboukir to Rosetta, was called by the Turks, Bogas, or throat.† The rounded shape of the holes or hollows from which running waters spring, reminds us of the roundness of the eyeball; two springs are called "eyeballs" (Haen) in the wild country which was formerly the rich and populous Cyrenaica.‡ Boneuil, Auteuil, *i. e.*, good spring, high spring; Nanteuil, and its diminutive Nantouillet, spring of the Nant,

ferior. Sussy is a charming small town, formerly enclosed by four walls, about twelve miles east of Paris.

* Bad or Bac, boat; zi, a dwelling. Eloi Johanneau, Vocabulaire Etymologique. Monuments Celtiques, par Cambry, p. 366.

† Olivier. Voyage dans l'Empire Othoman, vol. ii., p. 48.

‡ Nouvelles Annales des Voyages, vol. xviii., p. 36.

a river flowing through the ravine. The arches of the aqueduct by which the valley of the Bièvre is crossed, and by which the waters of the higher springs are carried to Lutetia, suggested the name Arcueil. Modern Greeks use the same word for both eyes and springs, Stamati or Stamathia.* In one of the books of the Zend-Avesta, springs are compared to eyes.†

Figurative names of mountains.

The gigantic forms of mountains have so much effect upon the imagination, that their name will frequently follow from their physical aspect. Not far from Rio Janeiro, the Organ Pipes‡ are a conspicuous object; they are a chain of perpendicular rocks which very much resemble the front of an organ. Some rocks in the neighbourhood are very much like a number of goats, they were called Pan's Flock.§ Rosto do Cao, or Dog's Face, is a rocky point on the island of San Miguel, one of the Azores, which, when seen from a particular spot, is something like a dog's head.‖ When seen from a distance, the mountain called Jankuban-Prahu, in the Island of Java, is very like a boat with its keel turned upwards; the name implies the similarity.¶ A mountain of considerable height near Teheran is called Albours, *i. e.*, The Nose.** The Nose is a high rock that juts over the right shore of the Lake Thun in Switzerland; beneath it the coast

* Travels in Asiatic Greece (French translation, 3 vols., 8vo, Paris, 1806,) vol. iii., p. 445.

† Boun-dehesch. § 22. Zend-Avesta, vol. ii., p. 395.

‡ Mawe. Travels in the Brazils, vol. i., p. 249.

§ Pausanias. Attic. c. xxxii.

‖ T. W. Webster. A Description of the Island of St. Michael, p. 112.

¶ Horsfield's Observations, in the Philosophical Transactions of the Society for the Cultivation of Science at Batavia, quoted by Th. Stamford Raffles in the History of Java.

** Olivier. Voyage dans l'Empire Othoman, vol. iii., p. 49.

is perfectly precipitous. In the Island of St. Helena,* which though a mere atom in the constitution of our globe, yet possesses a name which will last whilst the extremes of fame and misfortune live in the remembrance of men, a range of high mountains is called the Backbone. The highest point of the Scheidek, in the Canton of Berne, is like a succession of vertebræ, or like a chine; this was called the Ass' Back.† The national name of the place where Cæsar landed in his first expedition against Britain is said by tradition to have been Pwyth Meinlas, or the Blue Needle.‡ The name *needles* is usually given to sharp-pointed peaks.§ Cylindrically-shaped hills are called *towers.*‖ If a mountain rise sharply against the sky in the form of a narrow-pointed pyramid it resembles a *horn,*¶ but if it be less pointed and more rounded at the top it has the appearance of *teeth.*** The Spanish word Sierra describes most excellently a mountain which, from its

* "The Backbone of the Island." Barry E. O'Meara. A Voice from St. Helena (2nd edit., 2 vols. 8vo, London, 1822, vol. ii., p. 431).

† Grunner. Natural History of the Swiss Glaciers (French translation, 4to, Paris, 1770), p. 57.

‡ Richards. Welsh and English Dictionary, see the words "Pwyth Meinlas," literally, Blue-needle-place. Cæsar (De Bello Gallico, lib. iv., c. v.) says that where he first landed, the overhanging rocks were so near the sea, that from the heights it was possible to throw darts on to the shore.

§ Le Cap des *Aiguilles*, in Africa; *l'Aiguille*, a mountain about six miles from Die; *l'Aiguille* du Dru; *l'Aiguille* du Montmallet; les *Aiguilles* Rouges; *l'Aiguille* de Charlanon in Savoy.

‖ La *Tour* d'Aï, la Tour de Famelon in the Vaud canton, &c.

¶ Horn in German; in German Switzerland we have, the Jungfrau Horn, the Breithorn, the Gross Horn, the Wetter Horn, the Schreck Horn, &c.

** In the Jura, la *Dent* de Vaulion; in the Alps, la *Dent* de Nivolet, la *Dent* de Jamaus, la *dent* de Fully, la *dent* de Morcle, les *Dents* d'Oche, &c.

toothed aspect resembles a saw. A promontory in Laconia is called Ὄνου Γνάθος,* or the jaw of an ass; wherever the top of a mountain is so shaped as to resemble a jaw, the inhabitants of the valley will compare it with the jaw of the animal that is commonest amongst them. If a spring of water rise from one of the peaks that form the toothlike portion of the mountain, people will commonly say that the water proceeds from one of the teeth in the jaw.

These figurative names of places give rise to fabulous stories.

Hence, a name which is intended to describe the physical appearance of a place, and the figurative expressions to which that name gives rise, will frequently become the origin of wonderful accounts, which are soon admitted into the history of nations, and even of natural history. Procopius† tells us that the eastern promontory of their island was called "Dog's Head" by the Corcyreans; a mountain near Pisa was called the Wolf's Head; hence men with the heads of dogs or wolves were believed, by the credulous, to have existed in the respective neighbourhoods of Pisa and Corcyra.

Story of Samson and the jaw-bone explained.

Samson was delivered up to the Philistines by his own countrymen, *who had bound him themselves.* He knew that he could break those bonds whenever he chose, and he hoped further to deceive his enemies by his apparent submission. He succeeded in drawing them away to some favourable spot for an unexpected attack, and there was able to wreak his full vengeance on them. The scene of the fight is called the Jaw,‡ or the Height of the Jaw, because Samson (said the

* Pausanias. Laconic., c. xxii.

† Procopius. De Bello Gothico, lib. iii., c. xxvii.

‡ Book of Judges, ch. xv., vv. 9, 14, 17. Lehi, *i. e.*, Maxilla, a jaw-bone (v. 9); locum maxillae, the place of a jaw-bone (v. 14); Ramath-Lehi, elevatio maxillae, the lifting up of the jaw-bone (v. 17).

people) was armed with the jaw of an ass. Josephus, who gives the same account, remarks that the spring at which Samson quenched his thirst proceeded, not from the tooth of a miracle-working jaw, but from a neighbouring rock.* This explains the whole matter; the Jaw, an elevated portion of land, above the country of the Philistines,† and the Tooth which formed a part of it, were so named in consequence of their physical peculiarities long before the times of Samson. However unworthy of the event the name of the place might appear, it was only natural that it should be retained in the account of the fight of which it was the scene, especially if (as is most probable) the position of the pass, commanded as it was by a mountain, favoured the success of Samson's stratagem. A confused recollection of the circumstance, and the habitual use of a concise and metaphorical style, will at a later period have led to the statement that the jaw was the very weapon by means of which the victory was gained; and that a pure stream of water, at which the victor quenched his thirst, flowed from one of the teeth in the jaw. At a later period still, these figurative expressions began to be understood literally; the topographical account would disappear altogether, and a tinge of the marvellous, bordering almost on absurdity, would be thrown over the exploits of a hero whose sole aim was to secure the political and religious independence of his fellow countrymen from foreign oppression and wrong.

* Joseph. Antiq. Judaic., lib. v., c. x.

† Judges, ch. xv., v. 9. Then the Philistines *went up*, &c.

SECTION XCI.

SIMILAR NAMES GIVEN TO DIFFERENT PLACES; RESULTS OF SUCH A REPETITION.

Similar names given to different places.

WHEN speaking of the most interesting localities, I must not omit to mention certain customs which prevail in common life, and are intimately connected with the earliest necessities of existence. Their influence on names will be equally noticeable. In Yemen, the name of a village is frequently the same as the name of the day on which the fair or market* is held. Hence, naturally, there must often be similar names.

Generally speaking, the same customs, the same analogies, the same qualities, and the same physical peculiarities, will not fail to produce a corresponding similarity in the names of places. The Chattelards and Villars, the names of which occur so frequently in the ancient kingdom of Burgundy, were originally castles and farms (villae) of considerable size, or situated on elevated ground. The names Colonges, Coulonges, Cologni, &c., which are equally common in the mountainous districts, represent long ranges of hills or deep mountain gorges.† The Albanians call all their passes, Gruca, the trachea, a neck or gorge.‡ Vaucluse, the fortress of Cluse upon the Rhone, the town of Cluse in Savoy, Chiusa on the

* Niebuhr. Description of Arabia (French translation, 2 vols., 4to, Paris, 1779), vol. ii., p. 139.

† Collis longus, Collum longum. Some have derived these names from the word Coloni, tillers of the ground, or even from Colonia, a colony; but most of the places so named are situated in rocky localities where tilling is almost impossible, and which no one would willingly select as the spot for a colonial settlement.

‡ Pouqueville. Voyage dans la Grèce, vol. i., pp. 223, 224.

Fella in the Venetian States, are so named because they are surrounded and enclosed* by water and rocks. Towns and fortresses which command passes, and thereby open or close at will the entrances to a country, have long received, amongst the Greeks, the common name Key, Cleisoura.† Instances of such similarities might be multiplied indefinitely; I might mention the case of a village in the canton of Lucerne which bears the same name as the chief town of that canton, a name which also belongs to a valley in Piedmont, which in our days has suffered less devastation‡ from the effects of an earthquake than it had done a hundred and twenty years before from the effects of religious intolerance. In France, I could instance the case of the Niortaise Sèvre and the Nantaise Sèvre; and in the country of the Kalmucks, the river Tongout which flows into the Don, and another river Tongout which flows into the Sarpa; besides three rivers named Selme, which flow into the Sarpa before the latter joins its waters to those of the Volga.§ We might go on to inquire how it is that ancient geographers have enumerated eleven towns that go by the name of Larissa; and, without explaining why, we might also point out the fact, that the chain of mountains which formerly separated ancient Greece from modern Epirus‖ was called the Pyrenees, like the mountains which separate France from Spain; and, again, it

* Clusus, closed, surrounded. Vallis-Clusa, Vaucluse.

† Pouqueville. Voyage dans la Grèce, vol. i., pp. 223, 224; and vol. ii., p. 86.

‡ In 1807. In 1686 Louis XIV. sent a large body of troops to the Duke of Savoy, to assist him in reducing the inhabitants of the valley of Lucerne to submission, because they would not consent to abandon their old religious beliefs. (Mémoires de Dangeau, Feb. 25, 1686.)

§ Nouvelles Annales des Voyages, vol. xii., pp. 258-260.

‖ Georg. Acropolit. Chronic. compendiar., c. lxxx.

might be remarked that, in the three divisions of the ancient world, three cities celebrated for their hot springs bear the same name; Toeplitz in Bohemia, Teflis in Georgia, and Tibilis in Numidia. We may now proceed to examine what inferences may be drawn from all these frequent repetitions in the names of places.

Inferences to be drawn from such similarities.

First. The derivation, more especially if it refer to a physical peculiarity, must apply with equal appropriateness to all the places designated by the same name; if it be inappropriate in one case, it will probably be so in all.

Fontarabia.

For instance, Fontarabia, Fuente Rabia, Fons rabidus, an angry and furiously rushing stream; now, the Bidassoa, though a rapid stream, does not merit the above name, and cannot therefore have given it to the town, the walls of which are washed by its waters. There is a hamlet in the department of the Charente Inférieure which is also called Fontarabia. The unpretending spring which turns it into a kind of oasis at the entrance of the Landes, is even less than the Spanish river entitled to bear a name which could hardly belong to the noisiest and most rapid of the Alpine torrents. But if we bear in mind that this hamlet or village is on the very road which the Arabs or the Saracens took when they came from Bordeaux, and passing through Saintes were making for Tours; if I venture the conjecture that, near a spring the proximity of which to the sandy desert doubled its value, and in a place equidistant from the exact spots where the Charente and the Dordogne become navigable, the Islam warriors left a sufficient body of troops to keep the already subjugated countries in submission, whilst the rest of the army proceeded on its march, filled with the hope of completing the conquest of France by a final victory; if I add

to this, that a long cherished remembrance may have connected the name of the Arabs with that of the spring where they quenched their thirst, and so turned the name of the place into a monumental record of their sojourn there, just as a similar reminiscence has transformed a fountain originally constructed and ornamented by the Romans in the neighbourhood of Alais,* into the Fountain of the Saracens; if, still further, I assign a similar origin to the name of a town called Fontarabia, far too military a position to have been neglected or overlooked by the Arabs, the conquerors of Spain; and if, lastly, I draw attention to the fact, that in the name of the place the name of the Arabs may be found, in form, such as they pronounce it themselves,† and such as our oldest authors‡ used to write it, I think I shall have substituted a less improbable derivation for one which cannot be admitted for a moment.

Lugdunum. Lugdunum (Lyons), according to M. Eloi Johanneau,§ means a hill, the foot of which is washed by the waters of a lake or a marsh. Such is the character of the hill on which Lyons was at first built, and which formerly overlooked the

* Near Mus, in the department of Gard. See the Bibliothèque Universelle, Sciences et Arts, vol. xvii., p. 41.

† Irak-Arabi. Irak, inhabited by Arabs.

‡ "De la fierté des Trépéis
Que font les destriers Arabis."

(Roman de la guerre de Troie) a manuscript quoted by Ducange in his Glossary, under the article "Trepidarii equi."

§ Louc'h, marsh; Lac, a lake (in Welsh, Lluch); Tun, a hill (Monuments Celtiques, pp. 362, 363). The writer of the Treatise on the Names of Rivers and Mountains, which is usually attributed to Plutarch, in his sixth chapter, explains Lugdunum as follows—Mount of Ravens, or Crows, and says that in the Celtic language, *lug* means a crow. M. Eloi Johanneau is of opinion that so erroneous an explanation must have been the fault of some copyist.

marshy tract where the Rhone and the Saône meet: it is also the character of Laon (Lugdunum Clavatum), above the Aisne; it is that of Saint-Bertrand de Comminge (Lugdunum Convenarum), and that, also, of an old castle, the ruins of which may be seen in the midst of the ancient city of Leyden (Lugdunum Batavorum), at the foot of which the Rhine flows.*

The derivation suggested is, as far as I can judge, free from any serious objection; hence, I may perhaps be allowed to submit another like it.

Montmorenci.

The watery marsh which now exists at the foot of the hill of Montmorenci, was formerly far more extensive than it is at present; it joined on to the waters of Coquenard, and to the overflowings of the Seine in the plain of St. Denys.† There is no doubt that at some time or other it received the name of *Mor*, sea, which was common to lakes and other small sheets of water, just as the word *see*, which has the same meaning, is used in Switzerland to designate all the lakes. Now, to any one living in a southerly direction, and looking towards Montmorenci, the mountain is beyond; the Mor, or lake, is on this side (en ci). There is a village called Montmorenci in the department of Aube;‡ its situation will help us to determine whether the derivation I have mentioned be within the range of probability. Backed on the north-west by a hill of the same name, it has before it the wide-spread waters of Villeret on the south-east. Does such a situation remind us sufficiently of the beautiful

* Coup d'Œil sur la Hollande (2 vols. 8vo, Paris, 1806), vol. xi., p. 110.

† It is not impossible that the marsh, or lake, was formerly at a much higher level; fresh water shells are found not far from l'Ermitage in the upper sands.

‡ Three leagues from Brienne, and seven leagues from Bar-sur-Aube.

scenery with which we connect the imperishable memory of the author of Emile? Let the reader decide; and let him judge whether, in this instance, I have or have not conformed to the rule which I laid down for myself.

Secondly. The converse of this rule will be equally useful. Geographers sometimes question the propriety of applying an old name to a place which has long ceased to bear it. We may satisfy ourselves by examining whether the place manifests the peculiarities denoted by the name, more especially when those peculiarities can be traced in other places to which the same name undoubtedly belongs.

Thirdly. When names of places became the patronymics of the nobility and lords of manors, their frequent similarity led to the idea that there existed a very common desire to graft less illustrious families upon the more illustrious stocks. Whatever the moralist may think of the value or worthlessness of privileges which have been so sadly compromised by their abuse, he must, at all events, condemn whatever tends to encourage falsehood by the almost certainty of success. It must, however, be confessed that these fraudulent alloys, and the scandalous revelations which resulted from them, did signal service to the cause of civilization; they succeeded in stripping the gigantic phantom of a feudal nobility of its illusory character, a system which, extending over the whole of Europe, at one time seemed destined to banish for ever the reign of intelligence and obedience to the laws.

Fourthly. The same names, when given to different places, make the study of geography more intricate. Hence, it is not always easy to discover of which Ida, for instance, or of which Larissa, an author may be speaking.

Rhône. Rhône (Rhodanus) means a river in the language of

Languedoc,* and is derived from a word which signifies, to flow rapidly. This is eminently characteristic of the beautiful river† which waters the south of France, as well as of the Rhodane which runs into the Vistula. For the same reason, the Po was formerly called the Eridanus. The ancients not only mistook the Italian river for the Rhodanus of Gaul, but also for that which flows through the country of the Sarmatians, upon the banks of which river amber is found, and, in spite of all evidence to the contrary, a fable was invented to prove that on the banks of the Po amber distilled from the trunks of poplar trees.

The Ister.

According to some writers, the Argonauts sailed up the Ister, or the Danube, from its mouth to its source, and thence passed through another branch of the same river into the Adriatic sea. Diodorus and Pliny reject the account.‡ The former is of opinion that it has been satisfactorily proved that the Ister, which runs into the Euxine, does not flow from the same source as the Ister, which, after a course of some fifteen or twenty miles, falls into the Adriatic Sea, and from which the name of Istria is taken by the district through which its waters flow.

Account given by Pliny.

Pliny both refutes the error and explains its origin.§ "The ship Argo," he remarks, "did, as a matter of fact, sail into the Adriatic, not far from Tergeste (Trieste), down

* Grunner. Natural History of the Glaciers of Switzerland, p. 149.

† The Rhône, Rhodanus. See Eloi Johanneau, Monuments Celtiques, by Cambry, pp. 367, 368.

‡ Diod. Sic., lib. iv., c. xvii. Plin. Hist. Nat., lib. iii., c. xviii.

§ Deceptos credo, quoniam Argo navis flumine in Adriaticum descendit, non procul Tergeste; nec jam constat quo flumine. Humeris travectam Alpas diligentiores tradunt. Subiisse autem Istro, dein Savo, dein Nauporto, cui nomen ex ea causa est, inter Aemonam atque Alpas exoriente. (Hist. Nat., lib. iii., c. xiii.)

a river respecting which there now remains no reliable information. The best informed authors maintain that, with a view of reaching the river, the Argonauts carried their ship upon their shoulders across the Alps, after they had sailed on the Ister (the Danube), the Savus (the Save), and the Nauportus (the Laibach), which last river was so named in consequence of the circumstance, and which rises between the Alps and Aemona, the town of Laibach."

It was probably through some extended use of the word that the river, over part of which the Argo sailed on leaving the Savus, was called Nauportus; the original term of which Pliny gives us the Latin translation, must have belonged more particularly to the spot where, leaving the river, they began to carry the ship, *Navem portare.*

Opinion of Diodorus.

Diodorus says that the Argonauts were obliged to drag their ship over land for a considerable distance before they reached a river which emptied itself into the ocean; and Apollonius relates that they carried it on their shoulders for twelve days in the deserts of Libya.* Both accounts, although equally untrue, seem to confirm that of Pliny in its most interesting portion. Zosimus confirms it more positively still; resting on the authority of the poet Pisander, he asserts that when they left Aemona, the Argonauts placed their ship upon some kind of framework, and dragged it to the sea, about four hundred stadia.†

If we now compare all the accounts together, we may justly infer that Pliny gave an exact description of the voyage, which, from a remote portion of the Euxine Sea, led

* Diod. Sic., lib. iv., c. xvii. Apollon. Argonautic., lib. iv., v. 1379, et seq.

† Zosimus. Hist. Rom., lib. v.

the navigators into a river which flowed into the Adriatic, by following the course of the Danube, the Savus and the Laibach, and which ended in a short distance of *carrying*,— an operation which may have been a matter of surprise to the Greeks, but which to us is a familiar occurrence in the navigation of the great rivers of America.

The little knowledge which the ancient Greeks possessed of this mode of communication, was sufficient to account for their attributing its discovery to the heroes of Greece; and thus, accordingly, we find it recorded in their mythologies and cyclic poems, those vast store-houses in which, under the veil of allegory, they used to accumulate and hide all the scientific notions they could acquire; but the errors and contradictions and fabulous accounts with which these records teem, clearly show that their travellers had only made the voyage once at most, and even then had only followed the track of previous and more experienced explorers.

The Argonauts had carried a princess away from Colchis. We know that the people of Colchis used frequently to visit Istria; they had built there the town and harbour of Pola; but, at first, we cannot see what possible motives of interest could have been strong enough to counterbalance the risks and toils of the voyage, to tempt them to that country, to cross the Euxine, the Hellespont, the Ægean and the Adriatic, so often tossed by storms and infested by pirates. But if we offer as a conjecture that Medea may have taught the Argonauts a road already made by the people of her country, then all becomes clear. The navigation of the interior, described by Pliny, made the possession of a harbour on the coast of the Adriatic a matter of great importance to the people of Colchis; and as regards the result of their voyage,

would not the labours of the navigators be amply rewarded by the chance of obtaining gold and silver from the mines of Hungary, and perhaps even quicksilver from the mines of Idria? The wealth of Colchis, which excited the envy of the Greeks and attracted both Phryxus and the Argonauts to the banks of the Phasis, has been somewhat too vaguely surmised to have resulted from the commerce of Asia and India; it may have arisen chiefly from the regular voyages in the river districts of the Danube and the Save, districts rich in precious metals, and the road to which was forgotten when Colchis lost her independence.

The name Ister was familiar to the people of Colchis, and, probably, belonged to their language; however, it is certain that they gave it to a town built by themselves on the banks of the Danube.* To account for their giving the same name to two very different rivers, we need only suppose that the sloping lands which inclined in the one case towards the Euxine, in the other towards the Adriatic, presented certain strong points of similarity; it would even have been enough if the one had ended and the other begun their Mediterranean voyage.

What river was the second Ister?

What, then, was the second Ister?† Unknown in the days of Pliny, it is still less known now; still we may venture to make an attempt to discover its position. There can be no doubt that it was near Nesactum, a town which, according to tradition, the Argonauts had built in Istria;

* Istriopolis. Plin. Hist. Nat., lib. iv., c. xii.

† It may be remarked, that Canterus, in his Commentary on Lycophron, mentions a third river Ister in Thessaly (Lycophron., Chalcid, Alexandr., &c., 8vo, Basileæ, 1566, p. 223); but in the passage which is commented upon, Lycophron most certainly means the Danube.

but, unfortunately, we know nothing now regarding the position of Nesactum.

Pliny says that the Argonauts re-embarked not far from Trieste. An inscription* discovered at Capo d'Istria, marks out that place (the ancient Aegis, or Aegida) as having been the refuge of the Argonauts; but Pliny's description is sufficiently wide to allow of its being applicable to a harbour situated much farther from Trieste than Capo d'Istria. The inscription dates from the time of the Emperor Justin, hence it is far too recent to establish anything respecting so early an event, and simply proves that a certain claim was made to the title by a particular locality, a claim which was doubtless contested by other towns in Istria.

Diodorus states that the source of the Ister is situated at a distance of not more than forty stadia from the Adriatic at the most. Now, the river that flows near Capo d'Istria has a much longer course.

According to Zosimus, the Argonauts travelled over four hundred stadia between Aemona and the sea. It is clear, then, that Zosimus cannot have taken into account the various windings which must naturally have lengthened the way, and that he has measured the distance as a bird flies, otherwise his calculation could not apply to any of the coasts of Istria. But even granting this, and whatever might be the value of the stadium according to Zosimus, still Capo d'Istria is too far from Laibach to allow of its having been the limit which the Argonauts reached.

In the whole of the coast line of Istria, the harbour which is at the shortest distance from Laibach is Fiume, or St. Veit. If, like Pliny, Zosimus means the Olympian stadium,

* Mentioned by Morisot, Orbis Maritim., lib. i., c. xlii.

calculated by Romé-Delisle to measure 570 feet 8 inches, the 400 stadia would amount to about 76,088 yards. The direct road from Laibach to Fiume does not seem longer than this, and probably is a little less. This almost mathematical coincidence is most important as regards the solution of the problem.

The Ister of Diodorus flowed over a distance of hardly forty stadia, from its source to its mouth; and from other remarks made by the same historian, we may infer that the river was navigable throughout the whole of its course. The Reka, or Fiumara, empties itself into the harbour of Fiume; it has a navigable channel up to some very abundantly flowing springs which supply it with water, and beyond which there is nothing but a narrow streamlet. The distance from the river's source to the sea is so short, that, in order to make it agree with the forty stadia, we are obliged to suppose that, like Xenophon, Diodorus meant the nautical stadium of 513 feet 7 inches.

To cross over the mountains from the banks of the Laibach to the navigable channel of the Fiumara, and to carry or drag a ship capable of holding about a hundred men, would require, at least, the twelve days mentioned by Apollonius, especially in the case of inexperienced sailors.

The proper names themselves will furnish us with another argument. It is believed that the name Ister was a generic term, and denoted a river which runs through a low level, and the course of which is rapid; this, then, would apply to Fiumara. Reka* means a river, in several Sclavonic dia-

* The town of Fiume is also called Reka. One of the Spartans who accompanied Castor and Pollux in the expedition of the Argonauts, was called Reka (Morisot. Orbis Maritim., lib. i., c. ii.). I simply mention this, without drawing any inference from the fact.

lects; Fiume, a river, in Italian, and Fiumara,* a concourse of running waters, larger and more rapid than an ordinary river, are equally generic terms: the last name would be peculiarly appropriate to the lower Danube, the Ister of the Euxine.

The Ister of Diodorus was probably the Fiumara.

Was the Ister of Diodorus, *i. e.*, the river on which the Argonauts re-embarked, the Fiumara? The remarks I have made would lead to the supposition. I may add, also, that the commercial and political importance of a communication between the Danube and the Adriatic, starting from the spot to which our conjectures have led us, has been felt in recent times just as it seems to have been experienced in earlier days. Goods are now conveyed from Fiume to Karlstadt, over a road which was made at considerable cost; there they are shipped on the Kulpa, from which they are carried down the Save, and thence to the Danube. An enterprising scheme, which as yet has been but imperfectly carried out, will eventually shorten and improve this mode of transit by the construction of new and branch canals; still there will always be some distance to be crossed by land from Brod to Fiume, where, just as in the days of the Argonauts, nature has placed almost insurmountable obstacles in the way of navigation. Our conjectures respecting the efforts of industry amongst the ancients, are rendered all the more probable by the successful schemes of more modern enterprise.

* Fiumana e Fiumara è piu che fiume cioè allagazion di molte acque. (Dictionnaire Italien-Français, 2 vols. 4to, Paris, 1735.)

SECTION XCII.

WRONG DERIVATIONS, AND THE FABLES WHICH HAVE RESULTED FROM THEM. ONE GREAT ERROR IS TO SEEK FOR THE DERIVATION OF A NAME IN EITHER THE GREEK OR LATIN LANGUAGE, AND NOT IN THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE TO WHICH THE NAME PROPERLY BELONGS.

A LOVE of the marvellous is another great source of error. Instead of examining a name with a view of tracing in it some historical reminiscence, or some easily recognized physical peculiarity, it is disfigured by all kinds of far-fetched derivations, which have frequently no connection with the language to which the name belongs, and hence stories will obtain currency which are as devoid of truth as the derivations on which they are founded.

The Tiber was once called Rumon, the river that consumes or eats into its banks.* In that name it is easy to trace the origin of the ficus ruminalis, of the tribe Romilia, and of Rome herself. However, the name Rome was sometimes derived in preference from the name of a princess or a nymph (the daughter of Æsculapius), sometimes from a Greek word meaning strength, notwithstanding that the Romans did not speak Greek; or again, from the name of Romulus. But the name and first foundation of

* Rumon dictus quasi ripas ruminans et exedens (Servius, in Æneid, lib. viii., v. 90). According to some authors, the name Romulus was derived from the ficus ruminalis. (S. Pomp. Festus, under the word "Romulum.")

Rome are far older than the time of that king, as Dionysius of Halicarnassus* has proved; and, according to the author of a religious poem,† the grandson of Numitor derived his own name from that of Rome.‡

The chief town of the Insubres was, in Latin, called Mediolanum; the Romans used to state in all seriousness that the name was derived from the following circumstance, viz., that a hog had made its appearance there half covered with wool: eventually there were six other places that went by the name of Mediolanum. Now, in reality, Mediolanum is like Milan, the half translation§ of Meyt-land, or Mitland. This name, which the Germans have retained for the capital of Lombardy, signifies middle of the country, or of the plain, and agrees with the position of Milan, as it does with that of Mediolanum Eburonum (Evreux), and all similarly named places.‖ Mediolanum.

Nemaus (Nismes), a town of the Volcae Arecomici, wor- Nemaus or Nismes.

* Dionys. Halic., lib. i., c. xvi.

† Roma et ante Romulum fuit, et ab eâ sibi Romulum nomen adquisivisse Marianus Lupercaliorum poeta sic ostendit, &c. (Jun. Philargyr., in Virgil. eclog. i., v. 20).

‡ In a work on Italy, M. Galiffe derives the name of Rome from the Russian word *hrom*, or *hroma*, thunder. In support of his opinion, he states, first, that a Sclavonic tribe founded Rome; secondly, that the Russian language of the present day is a parent language, of which the Sclavonic is only a dialect. This seems as strange to us as if it were asserted that Latin is but a dialect of Spanish; but as we only know M. Galiffe's works by an extract inserted in a periodical, we simply mention his opinion, without discussing the authorities by which he supports it.

§ Megalopolis, when changed into Mikilaburg, is a similar instance. See § 90.

‖ Château-Meillant, or Meilant, in the département de l'Allier, is called Mediolanum in the map of M. Peutinger. M. Barailon was of opinion that the name denoted the centre of what he terms the "cité

shipped a local deity of the same name. The Romans, giving the name a Latin form, turned it into Nemausus, who was supposed to be a descendant of Hercules. According to tradition, when the hero had slain a monster who for some time had been poisoning a never-failing spring, he received the name Nemausus, and transmitted it to the city he founded in the immediate neighbourhood, in memory of his having done what no one had dared before, Nemo-ausus.* It is not likely that the Arecomici, several centuries before the arrival of the Romans in Gaul, spoke the Latin language. any more than the Eburones or the Insubres.

Virunum. The people in the province of Noricum had their several dialects, which differed materially from the Latin; that mattered little, for, according to Suidas,† Virunum or Virunium (the name of one of their towns), was derived from *vir unus*, a single or individual man. An instrument of the divine wrath, a wild boar which none could kill, was once depopulating the country; *alone* worthy of the title of *man*, a courageous individual, rivalling the daring feats of Hercules at Erymanthus, fought the monster, slew it, and brought it home upon his shoulders. The town was immediately called by a name which should thenceforth commemorate the great event. I will only observe, by the way,

Toulloise" (Recherches sur plusieurs Monuments Celtiques et Romains, 8vo, Paris, 1806, p. 218).

Saintes, a town of the Santones; in ancient times, *Mediolanum* "was the *centre* of a district." See M'Culloch's Geographical Dictionary, 1854.—*Tr.'s note.*

* The Abbé Simil relates this tradition in his Mémoire sur la Maison Carrée (Notice sur les Travaux de l'Académie du Gard, from 1812 to 1822, 1st part, pp. 329, 330).

† Suidas, sub voce "Berounion." Virunum Noricorum, now Volkmark in Carinthia.

that there was a Germanic tribe called the Viruni, and we shall see at once, and better than in the account of Suidas, what must be the true derivation.

After such instances as the above, we feel no surprise at the derivations of names transmitted to us by ancient authors, where all were drawn from the Greek or Latin languages; we cease to wonder when we find Pliny tracing the origin of the name of the river Rhone to a city of the same name, founded by the people of Rhodes.*

Such instances not surprising in old times, but inexcusable now.

But we do feel bound to protest and express our astonishment, when we find that modern authors, treading in the same path of error, will obstinately persist in deriving the names of almost every place in Europe from the Greek language, but more especially from that of the Romans. It is the natural result of the old custom of writing all legal documents in Latin, and of disfiguring the names of places by translations, in which the real meaning was not sought to be preserved, and the only aim of which was to give a Latin meaning and a Latin form.

In the neighbourhood of the Phocæan colony which settled at Marseilles, we ought to find some Greek names; and similarly we ought to meet with Latin names in the regions occupied by the Romans at an earlier period, viz., in Provence, and in various other places to which they were attracted by motives of policy, by the beauty of the climate, or by the search after medicinal springs. But long before they became acquainted with the merchants of Greece and the conquerors of Italy, the Teutons, the Bretons, and the Gauls spoke languages of their own. Accordingly, we should endeavour to trace the derivation of the greatest

* Plin. Hist. Nat., lib. iii., c. v.

portion of their names of mountains, rivers, and dwellings, not in a language of which they were utterly ignorant, but in their own.

Greek was not understood in Gaul, hence Gallic names were not derived from the Greek.

The Druids commonly used the characters of the Greek alphabet, hence some authors have at once inferred that the Greek language was sufficiently well known in Gaul to allow of its being used in the formation of names of places. But when Q. Cicero was besieged in his camp by the Gauls, Cæsar sent letters to him written in Greek, in order that if intercepted by the enemy they might not be understood.* Hence, far from being a language familiar to the Gauls, it was not even known by the chiefs of the nation.

In the reign of Alexander Severus, the law† enacted that the fidei-commissa, or testamentary deeds, should be equally valid if drawn up in the language of Gaul, as they would have been if they had been drawn up in Latin. The Romans at that time had been established 280 years in Gaul, and the national language was still the one spoken by families sufficiently wealthy to need testamentary deeds.

Conquerors, when accompanied by their wives and children, generally extirpate or disperse the more ancient population, as the Saxons did in England, and the people of Burgundy in the western portion of the higher Alps. Extraordinary circumstances may lead to the adoption of a foreign language as the language of religion, then of literature, and subsequently of civil and legal transactions, just as in the case of the Latin language in France and in Spain. Such causes as these may, in process of time, render the ancient language of a people obsolete. But names of places which

* Cæsar. De bello Gallico., lib. v., c. xii.

† Digest., lib. xxxii., tit. i., § 11.

are older than the change, survive it, and their derivations may still easily be traced.

No, Noe, Nou, Noue,* in old French, mean sometimes a low-lying meadow usually covered with water, sometimes a hollow covered with water, when the neighbouring river overflows its banks, a low plot of ground where the slackening waters remain as in a pool. In the Latin of the Middle Ages, *no, noe, neo,* are translated by augia and auge, words which have the same signification as Noe in the Celtic language.† Charles the Bald died at Reichnau, which in Latin documents is called *Augia dives, noue riche,* a rich low-lying meadow; both parts of the word were appropriate to the position and wealth of the abbey. *Gent,* an old French word, of which *gentil* is a diminutive, expresses *beauty*‡ either of the place or the person to whom the term is applied. Nogent is the name of several towns and villages built on the banks of a river, in an agreeable situation, such as Nogent-sur-Seine, Nogent-sur-Marne, and St. Cloud, which was formerly called Nogent. No, Noe, Nou, &c.

In drawing up their legal documents, the writers used to

* Ducange, Glossar., and Le Carpentier, Glossar. nov. See the word "Noa." *Noue* has retained all its various meanings in the département de l'Aube. The same root occurs in the names of Noyen on the banks of the Seine, Noyelle on the Sambre, &c.

† Noe, Neo, a trough (Richard's Welsh and English Dictionary). See the word "Noe" (Legonidec. Grammaire Celto-Bretonne, p. 8).

‡ *Argent,* agreeable stream, the name of several rivers; *Fontaine Argent,* or *Fontaine Riant,* a spring near Provins; *Gent-hod,* or *Gent-houd,* a charming spot between Geneva and Coppet, on the right shore of Lake Leman; *hold, houd,* are common terminations in several names of places in various parts of the old kingdom of Burgundy, and are derived from the Saxon, *to hold,* and signify tenure, land held on lease or in fee, a farmstead, a property, a holding. It occurs in Germany as well: *Kœnigs-hould,* in Upper Silesia, tenure or property of the king.

translate Nogent, *i. e.*, Noue-gent or No-gent, by the word Novigentum;* soon after the name would probably be derived from *nova gens*, and would have seemed to imply the establishment of some new colony. Places, the proximity of which to water makes them more agreeable and fertile than others, would naturally be peopled the first, and would be more likely to send out colonies than to receive them, especially nineteen centuries ago, when the territories of Gaul were crowded by an immense population. Though most obvious, this reasoning had little chance against the desire to derive the name of a place from the Latin language, a name which had probably been in general use long before a single word of Latin was known on the banks of the Seine or the Loire.

Mont-Joux. Mont-Joux, which afterwards became Mons-Jovis, was so called because there was a temple of Jupiter there. Now in the Alps of Savoy and in the Jura, there are no less than five or six lakes called Joux, and as many mountains called Mont-Joux. Some of them are situated in almost inaccessible escarpments of rock, where, far from building a temple, men could not by any possibility have built even a chalet. Jougo,† Jouc,‡ or Joux, in the romance language as well as in old French, means the summit of a mountain. Mount Yau, not far from Courseult,§ is also called Mons-Jovis in the writings of the monks. Yau in Brittany means a height.

* By analogy, a town when situated on a hill (tun, or dunum) above a *noue*, or low ground, was called *Noviodunum*. The name and situation are common to Nevers, Noyon, and Nogent-le-Rotrou.

† Ducange. Glossary, see the word "Jugo."

‡ Verrières de Jouc, a village near Motiers-Travers in the canton of Neufchâtel.

§ Mémoires de l'Académie Celtique, vol. iv., pp. 382, 383.

It seems most natural that some traces of the worship of the Supreme Deity should have been found on these lofty heights, for men have always consecrated high places to the worship of the Deity, from the notion that such a position was nearer heaven. But such places had names long before the Romans (who were ever anxious to recognise their own religion in that of foreign countries) taught the natives that they had all along been doing worship to Jupiter.

Worshipped by the Helvetians on the mountain to which he has bequeathed his Teutonic name, Gothard, the Most High God, received the devout homage of the Celts on the highest point at which the chain of the Pennine Alps was crossed; these, like the mountain itself, were so called after the Celtic name of the God, Pen, signifying head or summit. The name given to the mountain in the Middle Ages was literally translated and became Mont-Joux. The Romans, who were not so particular in the matter of accuracy, raised a temple upon the mountain to the divinity of the place, and dedicated it to Jupiter Pennus or Penninus. Not long after the surname was written Pœnus on some of their monuments, and a Punic Jupiter appeared amongst the Celtic Alps; and further, similar monuments have been appealed to in our own times to make Mont-Joux, or the Great St. Bernard, the scene of the famous crossing of the Alps by Hannibal.* Now the Carthagenians did not worship Jupiter, they did not speak Latin, and they did not surely use the language of their enemies in the dedication of their monuments.

I might instance the name of Lutetia, which according to some is derived from the Latin *lutum*, mud, long before the Lutetia.

* See a discussion on this error in the Histoire du Passage des Alpes par Annibal, &c., par J. A. Deluc (8vo, Genève, 1818), pp. 267-270.

existence of the Romans was even heard of on the banks of the Seine; and I might ask, if the name was given to the city so called because it was the only one the soil of which

Rhodana. was moistened by rain.* I might instance the name Rhodana, which distinguished a palace built near the confluence of the Saône and the Rhône (Rhodanus), and which was taken from the name of some Saint Rhodana, a martyr, who, by the by, is all but unknown.† I might also mention the town Villars,

Villars. the name of which is translated into Villa Arsa, or the burnt city, because, according to a known and learned author,‡ it was built as a monument of the great conflagration which in his opinion led to the earliest associations of men, at a period, be it remembered, when not a word of Latin was spoken in any part of the world.

Nouailles. The most eminent philologists have sometimes yielded to the force of example, and sought at a distance for derivations which are in reality of a purely national character. Nouailles and Noailles are only amplifications of Noue, and yet the Abbé de Longuerue§ derives the word from *novalia*, cultivated fields; a single glance will show that in the places he mentions, the fishing-net and the scythe are more frequently used than the sickle.

Pontarion. In Pontarion (department of La Creuse), M. Barailon,‖ with his usual sagacity, recognizes the Prætorium marked

* M. Eloi Johanneau has, in my opinion, given the real derivation of the name, Lutetia. Monuments Celtiques, Vocabulaire Etymologique, pp. 362, 363.

† Henri de Bouvière. Voyage du tour de la France (12mo, Paris, 1713), p. 221.

‡ Poinsinet de Sivry. Origine des premières Sociétés.

§ Longueruana, vol. i., p. 75.

‖ Barailon. Recherches sur plusieurs Monuments, &c., pp. 156, 157.

upon the map of Peutinger between Limoges and Ahun. But is he equally justified in deriving the name of the town and that of the Thorion which flows at its feet from the word Prætorium? Pontarion is, I think, an altered form of Pont-Thorion, a name formed in the same manner as Pont-Oise, Pont-Trieu (in the department of the Côtes-du-Nord); Ponte-Fella (Carinthia); Ponte-Stura (Montferrat); Pont-Oglio (Bassano), &c. This particular form of names is an ancient one; Briva-Curretia, Samaro-Briva, and Briva-Isaræ, are Gallic names latinized, which mean literally Pont-Corrèze (Brive-la-Gaillarde), Pont-Somme (Amiens), and Pont-Oise.

Latour-d'Auvergne* once thought that Carhaix, or, in the Breton language, Ker-aès,† was so named because Aetius encamped under its ramparts; but the name Aetius, which is derived from the Greek Ἀετός, an eagle, would have been contracted into Aet, not Aes. It is more likely that Ker-Aès existed before the time mentioned, and that it is named after the beautiful river, the crossing of which it commands, Carhaix.

* Corret-Latour-D'Auvergne, Précis Historique sur la Ville de Carhaix, printed at the end of the Nouvelles Recherches sur la Langue et l'Origine des Bretons (12mo, Bayonne, 1792), pp. 191, 192. This *Précis* was not reprinted in the third edition of the same work, published under the title of the "Origines Gauloises," 8vo, Hamburg and Paris, 1801.

† Caer, in Welsh, means a fortified enclosure; Ker, in Lower Brittany, applies indiscriminately to the place of habitation and to the fortification, the *oppidum* or fortified town. M. Dulaure (Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de France, vol. ii., pp. 82–142), argues that in the case of the Gauls and Celts, *oppidum* simply means a camp surrounded by an entrenchment or fortified enclosure, where people took refuge in times of danger. He goes too far, I think, when he states that except on such occasions the *oppidum* was never inhabited. The habit of sheltering there, must have induced them to make it a permanent residence, at least when the general situation was a pleasant one, as in Bibracte, Lutetia, Lugdunum, &c.

viz., the Aès,* now called the Hière. So Doncaster, in Yorkshire, was in olden times a fort which commanded the river Don. So also in many of the cities of Gaul, in the cantons which now make up the department of Vaucluse, the name was formed by the addition of a common name to that of the river on which the city was situated. Araision (Orange), on the Arais; Cabalion (Cavaillon), on the Cabal; Ouasion (Vaison), on the Ouas or Vèse; Avenion (Avignon), on the Aven, the river of rivers, the Rhône.†

SECTION XCIII.

FABULOUS ACCOUNTS AND WRONG DERIVATIONS CONTINUED. OF WHAT USE IS THIS INQUIRY?

Wrong derivations continued.

INVERSELY, yet none the less erroneously, derivations have been sought for in the national language, whereas they really belonged to the Latin; but, oftener still, instances have been quoted of fictitious historical reminiscences, or recourse has been had to the language of emblems; nothing in fact has been left untried, to get rid (if we may so speak) of the simplest and most obvious etymologies.

Prémontré.

In the twelfth century, as the story goes, a furious lion spread alarm through the country, far and wide. A brave knight resolved to rid the land of the scourge, and having obtained the aid of a peasant as guide, he was soon led to a meadow where he saw the lion a few steps only from him.

* Aès, Aèse, a name common to many rivers. The river Aèse in turn embellishes, fertilizes, and lays waste the valley of Chambéry.

† Gasparin. Notices sur les Monuments de la Ville de Vaison. (Notice sur les travaux de l'Académie du Gard, &c., 1st part, p. 357.)

You have, indeed, *shown* him *near, près montré*, said the knight calmly; and hence the place was called Prémontré, *i. e.*, near-shown.* According to the legend,† St. Norbert obtained a piece of waste ground from the Bishop of Laon, in order to found there a new monastic order. When the saint saw that the meadow which had been given to him was as beautiful as it was productive, he stated that the Blessed Virgin had shown him that spot before, in a dream, as the site destined by Heaven for the erection of his first convent. In memory of the vision, the monastery was called Monasterium Præ-Monstratum, or Monastery pointed out beforehand—Prémontré, shown by anticipation. The account will be viewed in two ways, according as it is heard by the faithful or the incredulous: in the one case, it will be looked upon as a miracle; in the other, as a pious fraud, which was far more likely to exist in the twelfth century than a lion in the swampy forests of Picardy.

Mount Pilate.

Near Lucerne, Mount Pilate commands and shuts in one of the sides of the picturesque lake of the four Cantons. Some etymologists have derived the name from *Pileatus*, (covered with a hat, or capped,) because the mountain is cloud-capped, when sailors on the lake may anticipate stormy weather. It might at once be suggested, that the same phenomena are more or less visible on all the neighbouring mountains, and also, that it would seem more natural to derive the names of Mount Pilate in Switzerland, and Mount

* M. Noël has condescended to insert the story in his "Essai Historique sur les noms propres" (p. 77), probably with a view of exposing its absurdity.

† Nouvelles fleurs des Vies des Saints, &c. (2 vols., folio, Paris, 1657), vol. i., p. 1103.

Pilate in the old province of Forez, from the same root as the words pile, pillar, &c. But what is the popular and traditional version of the matter? On one of the peaks of Mount Pilate, the water that falls from the clouds forms a lake; sometimes travellers find it dried up, but it is positively asserted, that it cannot be fathomed. To stifle the cries of a remorseful conscience, the prevaricating judge who thought he could absolve himself from the crime of shedding the blood of the Just One by washing his hands in the presence of the multitude, before he pronounced his prisoner's doom, was supposed to have thrown himself into this bottomless lake. If a stone be thrown into its waters, Pilate, though a prey to the torments of an everlasting punishment, raises his hideous head above the surface of the lake, and a frightful tempest disturbs the sky. The fable is no longer credited either in Lucerne or in Underwald, but forty years ago it was currently believed; it was circulated in print without regard to the fact, that it could easily be verified, or to the other fact, that there was another Mount Pilate in the province of Forez, where Pontius Pilate was not in the habit of making his appearance;* and further, without regard to the

* On the top of the mountain is the source of the Giers; sixty years ago it was still feared that if stones were thrown into it, storms would be created (Fleurieu de la Tourette, Voyage au Mont Pilat, 8vo, Avignon, 1770, pp. 76-79). Beliefs like these are the last remains of the worship which was originally paid to springs, lakes, and rivers.

Murray, in his Handbook to Switzerland, mentions the story. "According to a wild tradition of considerable antiquity, this mountain derives its name from Pilate the wicked governor of Judæa, who having been banished to Gaul by Tiberius, wandered about among the mountains, stricken by conscience, until he ended his miserable existence by throwing himself into a lake on the top of the Pilatus. The mountain in consequence labours under a very bad reputation. From its position as an

testimony of history, according to which the Roman governor died at Vienne in Dauphiné, to which place he had been exiled by Caligula.

The origin of the name of Berne, as related by creditable authors, is substantiated by a series of pictures which may be seen in the Town Hall, and is further established by the bear which is figured in the arms of the Canton, and by the living bears that are kept there in dens. Berchthold of Zaeringen resolved to give the name of the first animal he killed in hunting to the town he was about to build; it turned out to be a bear, Beeren. But the *old town* of Berne, which is still so called, existed long before Berchthold erected a strong tower on the rock that commands it. Its situation, sheltered as it was by the rock, and scarcely accessible, so long as there was no bridge over the Aar, had destined it to be, at all times, what it still is, the shelter and the dwelling-place of fishermen. The name of Berne was most appropriate; it is Teutonic, and means a *net*, an Berne.

outlier, or advanced guard of the chain of the Alps, it collects all the clouds which float over the plains from the west and north; and it is remarked, that almost all the storms which burst upon the Lake of Lucerne gather and brew on its summit. This almost perpetual assembling of clouds was long attributed by the superstitious to the unquiet spirit still hovering round the sunken body, which, when disturbed by any intruder, especially by the casting of stones into the lake, revenged itself by sending storms and darkness and hail on the surrounding district. So prevalent was the belief in this superstition, even down to times comparatively recent, that the government of Lucerne forbade the ascent of the mountain; and the naturalist, Conrad Gessner, in 1555, was obliged to provide himself with a special order, removing the interdict in his case, to enable him to carry on his researches upon the mountain. . . . . It is rather a pond than a lake; it is dried up the greater part of the year, and reduced to a heap of snow. . . . . There is no other lake upon the mountain."—*Tr.'s note.*

instrument for fishing.* It enters into the composition of a great number of names of places which are favourably situated for fishing; it was imported into France either by the Saxons who settled in the country of the Cadeti, or with the followers of the victorious Sygambri. I will only mention Bernières on the coast, not far from the mouth of the Orne, and Bernières on the left bank of the Upper Seine,† a farmstead made famous by the death of the learned Pierre Pithou, one of the writers of the Menippean Satire, and the earliest editor of the Fables of Phædrus.

The resemblance between the two words, probably suggested the idea of giving a more distinguished origin to the name of Berne. A bear (if the story require it) can kill the men who feed upon the produce of their nets; it is, accordingly, a far more noble emblem.

Antwerp.

Antwerp (Antwerpen) is probably derived from the quay where the vessels unload their freights, or from the alluvial soil on which the town is built. But this was far too simple a derivation for the lovers of the marvellous. Hant-werpen may signify *a hand thrown down;* hence the story ran that a giant, in days gone by, was the lord of the place, and used to cut off and *throw* into the Scheldt the *hand* of every merchant who refused to deliver up to him the half of his goods. How could the fact be doubted, when every year the representation of the most noble giant was carried, amongst other pageantry, in two religious processions.‡

* Bern, Bernen (a fishing term), net, or drag-net. Nouveau Dictionnaire Allemand-Français, et Français-Allemand (2 vols., Strasbourg, 1762), vol. i., p. 129.

† About two miles from Nogent-sur-Seine, in the département de l'Aube.

‡ La Flamboyante Colonne des Pays-Bas (4to, Amsterdam, 1636), pp. 156, 157.

Another very ancient custom is that of giving to a town the name of some physical object, the name of which is somewhat like its own. Thus, Prasia is represented by a leek, in a joke which the immoral Aristophanes makes upon the ruins of the town.* In the Middle Ages, the bear became the emblem of Berne, and the giant, the destroyer of hands, became that of Antwerp. Such coarse translations, which at first were generally understood, survived the appreciation of their meaning, and then gave rise to ridiculous stories, which were eventually believed in, as historical truths. This, in the end, must be the result of a constant witnessing of the same objects, in men whose intelligence is limited to what they see: how many popular and mythological beliefs there are which have no better origin than this!

Reason why the foregoing inquiry has been made at such length.

This alone shall be my excuse, if the reader blame me for having dwelt too long upon and turned over too many pages in the annals of absurdity. It is one of the characteristics of man, viewed as a social being, during periods of imperfect civilization, that he seizes with credulous avidity upon the fabulous and the marvellous.

Besides which, false derivations, and the fictions to which they give rise, have not wholly disappeared at the present day. Instead of the national derivation of the name Canada,†

* Aristophanes. Peace, act i., sc. vii.

† See § 90. See also John Barrow's Chronological History of Arctic Voyages (French translation, 2 vols., 8vo, Paris, 1819), vol. i., pp. 63, 64, 72, 73. Dr. Barrow himself has fallen a victim to the taste for such etymological anecdotes. He tells us that the surname Corteréal, which was adopted in Portugal by the French Costas, arose from the fact, that one of them who was so lavish of his wealth, or so valiant, that the king said of him that he *really* was surrounded by or held *a court*, or that his presence at court made it *really a court*, (ibid., pp. 69, 70.) The surname

a story is told that the Portuguese, after they had explored the country, one and all exclaimed, "Cà nada!" *here, there is nothing!* Nothing positive is said as to what this expression of their fruitless search alluded to, whether to mines of gold and silver, or to a passage to the Indies; however, the derivation given by Rabelais, as regards the name of La Beauce, is not more extraordinary.*

When we examine all these fables which have been originated by false derivations, we are almost tempted to infer that ancient history must surely have been compiled by the writers of the Arabian Nights. If we show that such fables have been reproduced in modern times, and that a reasonable interpretation, and one which was universally allowed,† has been sacrificed to them; and if we do this, without affecting the general credibility of history, we shall have done something towards keeping within its proper limits an incredulity which is certainly not groundless, but which eventually becomes exaggerated in character; if we succeed in drawing especial attention to this deeply-rooted disease in the mind of man, we shall have helped our readers to eliminate truth from falsehood, in all periods and epochs of history.

is taken from the name of a place which is as common in Spain and Portugal as Villeroi is in France, and has the same meaning, royal farm, *cortis regalis.*

* The tail of Gargantua's mare being whisked about to drive away the flies, came in contact with an immense forest, and broke down all the trees. "Quoi voyant, Gargantua dit à ses gens, Je trouve beau ce, dont fut depuis appelé ce pays là Beauce." (Rabelais, Gargantua, liv. i., c. xvi.)

† See as instances, the etymologies of Canada and Prémontré.

SECTION XCIV.

PLURALITY OF NAMES. NAMES OF PLACES DISFIGURED BY INACCURATE TRANSLATIONS, BY WRONG PRONUNCIATION, BY THE HABIT OF ABBREVIATING THEM, OR TRANSPOSING THE CONSONANTS. INQUIRY INTO THE CORRECTION OF NAMES SO ALTERED.

Uncertainty caused by plurality of names.

HISTORY, but more especially geography, would be so materially affected, if doubt were thrown upon the true names of places, that we cannot pass over, without the strictest examination, the various causes which make such doubts or uncertainties almost inevitable.

In reading or discussing the accounts of travellers, the first that comes under our notice is that of a plurality of names, that is, when one and the same place is known by several names.

Writing, as we do, the history of men, viewed in their social aspect, we must remark, in the first place, that a plurality of names is frequently the result of most praiseworthy motives.

Plurality of names sometimes arises from feelings of nationality.

Most of the towns in Hungary have two names,* the one Hungarian, the other German, the latter being generally a translation of the other. To me the custom seems to denote a deep feeling of nationality. The accidental rights of inheritance have made the Magyars the servants of Teutonic princes; though forced to adopt the language of their new masters, they nevertheless retain their own with noble determination; they feel resolved that the national names which

* Encyclopédie Méthodique—Géographie Moderne, article "Hongrie."

were used by their forefathers shall not be lost, and further, that their meaning shall not be lost, when they merge into the new language.

This feeling is peculiarly characteristic of the Sclavonic populations. Fiume, we have already seen, is the translation of Reka. The Romans having transformed a city of Transylvania into a Roman colony had called it Julia, in honour of the imperial family: custom soon led to the addition of the further epithet, Alba (white), borrowed from the national name Bielogorod (white city), which has since been reproduced wholly in the German Weissemburg; at a later period still the town was named after a prince Charles, but did not lose its characteristic epithet, and was called Alba Carolina.

Norrige. We rarely find the same degree of accuracy in translations made by foreigners, who are liable to be led into error by the smallest analogy either of words or sounds. The country which its own inhabitants call Norrige and the Danes their nearest neighbours Norge, the English call Norway and the Germans Norwegen. These words, which in French take the form of Norwège, mean Northern Road; the alteration of the name deprives it of its true geographical meaning and historical value. Norrige means the kingdom of the north;* this name, which is clearly derived from *a relative position*, can only be national so far as it was given by people who, when they gave it, lived in a more southern land, before they settled there. These were the Danes, and there is a tradition which tells us of the remote period of their conquests. Norrige, they say, is a contracted form of Noririge, the kingdom of Nori;

* Revue Encyclopédique, vol. iv., p. 265.

Nori was the first king of Norway, he was a descendant of Thor, king of the Finns, who became their chief deity.* In other words, it seems to tell us that the kingdom of Norway was founded by men who professed the religion of the Finns, and whose Supreme God was Auka-Thor.

Is it true that Cyrus founded a city in the remote regions of Sogdiana, which he called Cyropolis, or, according to Ptolemy, Cyreschata? This would be the only instance in which the prince of that dynasty had given his name to a city. But I find that in Asia there are several cities called Cyropolis which were not founded by the same person, and several rivers called Cyr or Cyrus. According to Herodotus,† the Scythians used to call Apollo or the Sun, Οἰτόσυρος. In an inscription mentioned by Marquardus Gudius,‡ Oitoscuros is a surname given to the Goddess-Moon and to Apollo Mithra. The name Themiscyra (the capital of the country of the Amazons), in which the word Cyr is joined to that of the Virgin Goddess, seems to denote the active and passive energies which maintain the everlasting youth of the world. According to Ctesias,§ Cyr was one of the names of the Sun. I imagine, therefore, that after the Greeks had half translated the name Cyreschata, they were misled by their own interpretation of the word, and fancied erroneously that they recognized the name of the Persian monarch in a title which was common to several cities, all of them dedicated to the God-Sun, the life of the world. Cyropolis.

Incorrect translation of the names of places may sometimes be attributed to the feelings of jealousy and hatred which

* J. Scheffer. Histoire de la Laponie, pp. 34, 35.

† Herodot. lib. iv., cap. lix. ‡ Inscript. Antiq., p. 52, No. 2.

§ Ctesias, In Persic, cxlix.

divide nations. A false pronunciation may also lead to error. How can we avoid that error when it is patent in almost all foreign names? It is not far short of an impossibility, on account of the various modifications which the organs of speech undergo in different climates, modifications which are easily discerned in places not far removed from each other, and even amongst people who speak the same language and are descended from the same parent stock.

Instances of disfigurement in names caused by wrong pronunciation.

From the appellation Lingones the word Langres was formed, and from London, Londres.* Alterations like these are difficult to explain. It is easier to understand them when they arise from differences in aspiration, as when they vary from an almost imperceptible accentuation to the hard sound of a consonant. In the Phœnician language, Carthada (Carthahadath or Cartha-hadtha) meant the New Town;† in the Punic dialect, the same word was pronounced Carthage; the Greeks changed it into Καρχηδών. The river which is called Ckuban by the Tartars who live on its banks was called Ὕπανις‡ by the Greeks and Kubin by the Abassians. Χάλυβον, the name given by the Greeks to the ancient Berœa, is pronounced Halab or Haleb by the Turks, with a guttural aspirate,§ Aleppo by Europeans.

The modern Greek name Evripos (Euripus) changed by

* This alteration is an old one; on some of the coins of William the Conqueror's time we find Lundre and Lyndr for London. Nummi Britannici Historia, &c., (8vo, London, 1726,) p. 9.

† Solinus, c. xxx. Ex oratione Catonis.

‡ The Hypanis of Herodotus and Strabo. Jules Klaproth, Travels in the Caucasus and Georgia, (1 vol., 4to, London, 1814,) c. xxii.—*Tr.'s note.*

§ Olivier. Voyage dans l'Empire Othoman, &c., vol. ii., p. 305.

the Turks into Egripos,* became Negroponte amongst the Franks, a name which they have given to the island itself which the Euripus separates from the continent.† The partly Arab and partly Egyptian town of Raschid is marked in our maps as Rosetta.‡ Now both in Rosetta and Negroponte French and Italian words are easily discernible, hence they would be more familiar to European ears than Greek and Arab names. Whenever a strange name strikes the ear there will always be a tendency to mistake it for some other better known sound. Some Italian authors§ are of opinion that Malta (Melita) has been mistaken for Meleda near Ragusa. According to their view the Apostle of the Gentiles was shipwrecked on the latter; there is certainly something in this very simple correction which would tend materially to clear away some of the difficulties which now exist in the account of St. Paul's travels as they are related in the Acts of the Apostles.

This singular indolence of the ear and of the mind goes even beyond this; sometimes an involuntary tendency to trace in every kind of word sounds which remind us of our most ordinary ideas, leads us to alter even such proper names as are familiar to us, and which in our own language have a peculiar and definite sense. Near Domo d'Ossola, there is a hill to which pilgrims go to worship in a series of small chapels, where the successive scenes of the Passion of the Saviour are represented. It might have been imagined that the name of

* Danville. Géographie Ancienne, &c., vol. i., p. 263.

† Daru. Histoire de la République de Venise, vol. vii., p. 205.

‡ Olivier. Voyage dans l'Empire Othoman, vol ii., p. 51.

§ Appendini, Ignazio Giorgi, Facciolatti, &c. Appendini, Ricerche Istorico-Critiche, vol. i., part 2, lib. ii., pp. 262, 263; vol. ii., part 1, lib. i., c. ii., pp. 20-22.

such a Calvary, Monte Calvario, would not have been forgotten; but custom, far more powerful than reason, has altered the name into Monte-cavallo, or Mount Horse.

Alterations caused by abbreviations of names.

Another thing to be noticed is, that in ordinary conversation some nations are very much given to abbreviate their words. The form in which the Romans had adopted the names of the Marne and the Seine into their own language, Matrona and Sequana, shows that our forefathers used to sound consonants which we have dropped since their time. Om-Arbaym, the river with the forty springs, the Moors have altered into Morbeya, which is the name of one of the rivers in the kingdom of Morocco.* As it is now pronounced by the modern Greeks, who scarcely ever sound the Gamma (Γ) or hard g, the old name of Argithea has become Arithea and Arta.† Similar abbreviations are common in England; all the letters are retained in the names of men and places, but when pronounced one or more syllables are dropped.‡

Alterations caused by a transposition of the consonants in a name.

A strange custom, and one which it is not as easy to explain as it is to prove it by numerous instances, is the alteration of names of places by the transposition of the consonants which occur in them; the people of Rome and of ancient Latium always used to say Pratica (Saxa) instead of Patrica; a stranger would mistake Lanuvium for Lavinium, because they said Lavinia instead of Lanuvia.§ The ancient Romans used to transpose Barbarian names, not so much from a feeling of contempt as from long habit. Hence we find

* Chénier, Recherches Historiques sur les Maures, vol. iii., p. 33.

† Pouqueville. Voyage dans la Grèce, vol. ii., p. 225.

‡ The reader will easily call many instances to mind, such as Cholmondeley, Marjoribanks, Cirencester, Uttoxeter, &c.—*Tr.'s note.*

§ C. V. de Bonstetten. Voyage dans le Latium, pp. 175, 176.

amongst their writings Agendicum, and Agedincum;* a name which must have resembled that of Zurich they changed into Tigurinus Pagus, and the Severn into Sabrina. Amongst ourselves, Aurelia, Aurelianensis Civitas, has become Orleans, and the Latin word *ager*, signifying a field, helps to form the terminations *argue* and *ergue* in a great number of places in the south of France.

Vlacocleisoura, a town in Roumelia, is called Cosmopolis by the Greeks, who, according to Pouqueville, can give no reason for the name:† I think we may account for it by the overthrow of Moschopolis, which was the name of the place from which the colony proceeded by which Vlacocleisoura was peopled. Coronelli‡ refers the present name of the Peloponnesus to a similar transformation, which was the last portion of territory inhabited exclusively by the Greeks, they called themselves Romæi, Ῥωμαῖοι, Romans; from this it became Romea, and this again was soon changed into Morea. Nothing seems more likely than that it should have been so; and again, at the time of the siege of Troy, "the Greeks," says Pausanias,§ "formed the surname of Apollo, Κάρνειος, from κράνεια, the cornel tree, by a transposition of letters which was formerly frequently practised."

Why should not a list of synonyms be inserted in geographical dictionaries? By the side of the name of each

* Agendicum, Provins, or more correctly, the High Town of Provins. The name Gentico, which is the same as Agendicum, was long retained in common use at Provins. See "L'Ancien Provins," par M. Opoix (12mo, Provins, 1818, 1819).

† Pouqueville. Voyage dans la Grèce, vol. ii., pp. 368, 369.

‡ Quoted by Pouqueville in his Voyage dans la Grèce, vol. iii., pp. 471, 472.

§ Pausanias. Laconic., c. xiii.

Suggestion that a dictionary of synonyms of names of places should be compiled.

place, written according to our own system of orthography, we might place its own national name and the names it receives from other countries. We should then find Bielogorod transformed into Belgrade; Ragensburg into Ratisbon, and the Italian Livorno, which we can still recognize in the French Livourne, would be found to have been changed into Leghorn in English. The facilities which this last named transformation would afford for a wrong derivation should put us on our guard against all those etymological conjectures which, in reality, are nothing but so many ingeniously contrived charades.

Instances of its use.

Far from the shores of their own ocean, the warlike exploits of the Scandinavians filled the Mediterranean with alarm. They landed in the neighbourhood of Berne, attacked the city and plundered it. The system of synonymous arrangement which I have been recommending would at once inform us that the Icelandic Sagas had altered the name of Verona, a town which had frequently suffered from the attacks of those pirate heroes. It would be invaluable to ordinary readers and to translators as they ascend through periods of remoter antiquity, and would be especially useful in the case of such foreign names as have been transmitted to us through Greek and Roman authors. Everyone seems to follow the example of the anonymous writer of Ravenna; he had under his notice a description of the East drawn up by two Persian geographers;* and on finding some names of towns which differed from those which were similarly placed by the Latin geographer Castorius, he chose to rely upon the authority of Castorius.

* Anonym. Ravenn., lib. ii., c. xii.

Viewed in this light, a corrected list of the names of places would open a vast and interesting field of labour for the researches of a geographical antiquarian. The Indians, we are told,* gave the name Paropamisus (which the Greeks have borrowed from them) to the range of the Caucasus which runs along the border of their country. In this name Sir F. Wilford thinks he can trace the word Paravami, which in Sanskrit means the pure and excellent Vami.† The city which is said by the followers of Buddha to have once been the Metropolis of their worship,‡ and the existence and even destruction of which belong to a period of very remote antiquity, was situated in the Hindu Caucasus, between the towns of Cabul and Balac. Its name has not entirely perished, the imposing remains which have survived its ruin are still called Bamian.

SECTION XCV.

ON REMARKABLE CHANGES IN THE NAMES OF PLACES; SOME ARE NATURAL AND SOME ARE INEVITABLE.

WHAT a number of cities have disappeared from the face of the earth like the pure and excellent Vami; and although their names have been hallowed by religious and historic

* Jornandes. De Rebus Geticis, c. xxv.

† Asiatic Researches, vol. v. (Bibliothèque Universelle, Littérature; vol. vii., pp. 117, 118).

‡ If we admit the tradition, and it seems to be supported by the number and importance of the subterranean temples and their remains found in the district of Bamian, we should have to apply to the inhabitants of Vami the same reasoning which we used in the case of the inhabitants of Tibet, as regards the accounts of the ancients concerning the Hyperboreans. See § 80.

reminiscences, yet now they can hardly be recognized, except in one or two more or less plausible conjectures respecting them. Rivers and mountains and countries continue to exist, their names change, or are altered, and eventually they are forgotten. What man calls durable, is little less ephemeral than himself; what he believes to be everlasting, is only a speck in eternity.

Many changes in the names of places are inevitable.

It is not my intention now to weary the reader with a mere enumeration of places, the names of which have been changed; we cannot read an ancient author without meeting with repeated instances,* but it will be necessary for us to point out the causes of such changes; many are inevitable, and entirely independent either of the caprice or ignorance of men.

Mountains.

Mountain ranges will naturally be called by different names, according as they cross different countries or regions; one name only will ultimately prevail, and after a certain time will be the one applied generally. This may arise from several causes; peculiar circumstances may have caused one name to be better known than the others by geographers; or the nation which uses the generally adopted name may have obtained a pre-eminence in political and literary matters; or all the tribes which surround these mountains may, originally, have spoken the same language. For this last reason, the name of the Alps, which is a Celtic name, has invariably been retained as the generic appellation of the range.

* With regard to such changes, which took place in Greece, and were introduced by the Greeks of the Declining Empire, see the note of Léon Allatius on the twenty-fourth chapter of the Histoire de Georgius Acropolita, and the unpublished fragment which is there mentioned. Georgii Acropolitæ Historia (folio, Parisiis, 1651) pp. 241, 242.

Rivers.

If a river run through a long tract of country, it may receive a different name in each of the countries which it either enriches or impoverishes. This rule scarcely admits of an exception in the east; the Pasitigris of the Greeks is called Abzal through two-thirds of its course, Karun towards the lower portion of the stream, and Khor-Mouza at its mouth.* The Comba, or Rio Grande, is in one part of its course called the Kabou.† A similar variety of names exists in the European settlements in America. In the Brazils, for example, some of the rivers change their names two or three times in the length of their course.‡ The sight may be variously affected by the various peculiarities of the same object; hence, at one time, the colour of the water, and at another its abundance may be expressed in the name of a river. In the Poul states, the Senegal is called the Black River, Baleo; and amongst the Mandingoes it is called Foura, *the* river before all others.§ The Gambia is called Badima by the negroes, *i. e.*, the river which is always a river, a river which never dries up.‖ The river which flows through the Eternal City, and which had first been called Rumon, *i. e.*, that eats into or destroys its banks, and afterwards Albula, *i. e.*, Whitish Water, borrowed its name of Tiber, according to tradition, from the chief of a tribe which had settled on its banks. There is nothing very

* Sainte Croix. Examen Critique des Historiens d'Alexandre, 2nd edition, p. 675.

† Mollien. Voyage dans l'Intérieur de l'Afrique, &c., vol. ii., p. 165.

‡ Mawe. Voyage dans l'Intérieur du Brésil, vol. i., pp. 32, 33, 300.

§ Mollien. Voyage dans l'Intérieur de l'Afrique, vol. ii., p. 123.

‖ Ibid., vol. ii., p. 310. According to M. Golberry, the national or native name of the river at its mouth is Gambra, which we have altered to Gambie (Gambia). Fragments d'un Voyage en Afrique, (2 vols., 8vo, Paris, 1802,) vol. ii., p. 150.

improbable in the account; but without going into matters of history, which, be it said by the way, it were not always safe to reject, we shall generally find that when people who speak the same language, or even different dialects of the same language, succeed one other on the banks of a river, each nation will give the river a particular name, according to the phenomenon which struck that nation most on first seeing the stream. Hence, doubtless, in olden times, the Tigris was called Arazanes, and the Euphrates, Deglatius;* the river Evenus, in Ætolia, was first called Lycormas,† and the Tanais received the name Silys‡ from the Scythians: hence, also, the river which in the upper part of its course was called the Danube by the Teutonic tribes which lived on its banks (Danubius, Donaw), received the name of Ister as soon as it began to cross the territory§ of the Sclaves. In the time of Justinian, the Teutonic tribes which had settled at Sirmium, and on the lower portions of the river's course, called it, to its very mouth,‖ the Danube (the name by which it had originally been known), so that the name of Ister, which is now entirely lost, was only retained for a time in the intermediate part of its course.

Places may have as many names as they have peculiarities.

A place may have as many names as it possesses remarkable peculiarities; if the latter change, the name will change also. As late as the thirteenth century, Ragusa was called Dubrovnik by the Sclaves, on account of the forests that surrounded it; its present name, they say, alludes to the

* Eusebii Pamphili Chronic. Canon., lib. i., c. ii., p. 8.

† Strabo, lib. vii. Eustathius, in his Commentary on Dionysius Periegetes, remarks that the Greeks had changed many names of rivers.

‡ Plin. Hist. Nat., lib. vi., c. vii. § Ibid., lib. iv., c. xii.

‖ Lydus, De Magistr. Reip. Rom., lib. iii., c. xxxii.

rocks* which are seen near its walls, rocks which are, no doubt, more conspicuous now, as the increase of population has compelled them to make a clearance in the woods.

In the heroic times, the island which has since been named Lipari,† was called Meligunis. The latter name implies abundance of honey on an uncultivated soil, covered with brush wood and wild flowers; the former denotes a land beautiful for its fertility, and reminds us of the epithet which the Athenians used to delight in giving to their city.‡ I may, perhaps, be allowed to connect them with two different periods of history, in the matter of social progress. What would be the nutriment first sought for by the pirate who lands for a few moments on a desert isle, or by the hunter as he wanders amidst woods which have never re-echoed to the sound of an axe? What but honey, sweeter and more nourishing than the wild fruits of an uncultivated soil; honey which the bees deposit abundantly in the trunks of trees hollowed by the course of time? At a later period, civilized man appears upon the scene, who, with his ploughshare, can draw her inexhaustible treasures from the bosom of the earth; he acknowledges the fertility of the land, rich as it is in delicious fruits,§ with which nature

Lipari or Meligunis.

* Dubrovnik, derived from Dubrova or Dubrava, a forest (Appendini, Ricerche Istorico-Critiche, &c., vol. i., p. 72). Ragusa is a corrupted form of Laousia or Lavusa, a name by which Ragusa was long known. Lawe, in the Illyrian dialect, means mountains, rocks: some rocks near Ragusa are still called Lawi (Appendini, ibid.).

† Callimach. Hymn. v., vers. 47, 48.

‡ Lipara. Uncta, pinguis, opima (Suidas, see the word "Lipara"); Λιπαιὰς Ἀθήνας (Aristophan. Acharn., act ii., sc. vii.).

§ For the fertility of the soil of Lipari, see Dolomieu, Voyages aux îles de Lipari (8vo, Paris, 1783), pp. 75–77. Diodorus does not mention its fertility, but simply alludes to the choiceness of its fruits, and the

seems to have endowed this volcanic soil as with a compensating hand. So, in point of fact, the island was called Lipari by the Italian colonists, who came to clear the land, with a view to its cultivation.*

Asterie or Delos.

An island is said to float about in the Ægean Sea, and to mock the skill of the most artful mariners. Some have thought that they were far away from it, when all at once it came in sight; others have vainly looked for it where they were morally sure they had seen it before. Its name, Asterie, was the first, no doubt, to suggest its instability. A slight change was made in the pronunciation,† and people began to tell that, like a star, Asterie dwelt in the skies, from which she threw herself into the sea, to escape the loving embraces of Jupiter.

When Apollo had been born on the island, it ceased to disappear from the sight of the sailors, and was by them

abundance of fish on which the inhabitants of Lipari lived (Diod. Sic., lib. v., c. vii.). Cicero describes Lipari as an uncultivated, poor, and starving island (In Verrem, lib. iii., c. xxxvii.); but, in the first place, Cicero adds this remark, that the population of Lipari were so much annoyed by pirates, that every year they had, for a long period, been obliged to buy exemption from plunder, at a very high price; hence the orator's remarks only refer to the wretched condition to which they had been reduced by so constant an imposition, which was further aggravated by the exactions of the Roman magistrates. Secondly, forty or fifty years later, when Diodorus wrote, the people of Lipari were carrying on a thriving trade in alum (Diod. Sic., ibid.). The alum works must have paralysed all agricultural pursuits, as they would afford better profits than tilling the land would at the best of times, much more, therefore, when agriculture was ruined by past disasters. There is nothing to prevent our crediting the statement that the fertility of Lipari, in ancient times, as well as in our own, warranted the significant name by which the island has continued to be known.

* Diod. Sic., lib. v., c. vi.

† Callimach. Hymn. vi., vers. 36–40.

called Delos,* apparent, or clearly seen. If a ship's crew were sailing through the dangerous group of the Cyclades, whether they intended to make for the Ægean Sea or to keep wide of it, the position of Asterie made it an important mark; but as these novices in navigation were frequently mistaken in their calculations, they pretended that the island escaped out of their sight. The erection of the temple of Apollo† on the coast (a most conspicuous building), and also of a signal, raised probably by the priests of the god, on the top of Mount Cynthus, put an end to all those old fables; the new name Delos, declared that henceforth it was impossible not to see the sacred island, or to mistake it for another.

It is a matter of little importance whether the names of countries and provinces be altered, for reasons over which no control can be exercised, whether different names of mountains and rivers exist at one and the same time, or whether one name succeeds another after the latter has lasted for some time. The confusion and alterations through which names have to pass, are the cause of great doubt and uncertainty in future ages, and consequently the friend of science cannot withhold his bitter complaint that such should be the fact. And yet we are obliged to conform to these variations, or

* Calimach. Hymn. vi., vers. 51–53.

† This temple was founded by Erysichthon, the son of Cecrops, in the sixteenth century before our era, according to Eusebius, who is quoted by Saint Jerome and Syncellus; but it is quite possible that this edifice, the magnificence of which was much praised, had taken the place of a much older temple. The Armenian version of Eusebius substitutes Delphi for Delos, and Erychsithon for Erysichthon (Euseb. Pamphil. Chronic. Canon., &c., lib. ii., p. 282). This only furnishes us with another instance of the alterations which proper names undergo in foreign languages.

history would be made more uncertain still. Chalcondylas has been rightly blamed for using obsolete names, and for speaking of Delphi when he really means Salona,* which is a wretched hamlet built upon the rock where Delphi once stood, but had long ceased to exist.

SECTION XCVI.

CHANGES EFFECTED BY RELIGION AND POLITICS.

Such changes in the names of places are to be regretted.

A PHILOSOPHER cannot but regret that the names of places should be liable to such changes. Why does a people which desires to retrace its steps and regain the ancient glory and independence of its ancestors, delight in reproducing its old national names in every possible portion of its territory? Why did the men who believed in the energy of the Neapolitan people, and in the constancy of its chief, approve of the re-introduction of ancient titles, which seemed to bring back to their native soil the Daunians, the Hirpini, the Bruttii, and the invincible Samnites? How is it that the more fortunate Greeks command interest in their cause, and good wishes for their chances of success, by the very historic charm of such names as Athens, Lacedæmon, and Peloponnesus? It is because there is that magic influence of old associations, which resists all time better than monuments of art, or the power of empires; because sounds, though meaningless in themselves, gain importance from our affections for certain localities; because patriotism (a feeling which civilization cannot create, but which it sometimes weakens or destroys, and which it ought always to perfect),

* Longueruana, vol. ii., pp. 85, 86.

delights in fixed names of places, and is averse to all change. The Caledonian warms as he tells of the exploits of his ancestors; he celebrates them in his own language; he proclaims them aloud on the very spot where they were performed, the very echoes answer to the same names which they repeated sixteen centuries ago. Change the names of the places, and at once you trample under foot all the associations of a land of heroes; their national history is consigned to the past, it becomes strange to our every day memories, to our ordinary feelings, to the whole of our present life.

The preacher of a new religion, or a foreign invader, will tell us that sooner or later this must be the case.

Names of places changed from religious motives.

Religious zeal, especially when fired by the hot fervour of novelty, erects temples everywhere to the objects of its worship; everywhere it records their august names, as a return for the protection which it feels a right to claim. Hence, the successors of Alexander gave the names of the gods of Greece to several cities in Egypt. In its turn, but on a vaster scale, Christianity witnessed the triumph of the names of her saints over the old national titles in the smallest hamlets; and not only were the souls of men and their creeds renewed, but even the very face of the earth was altered.

The same system of change is effected by conquest.

The conqueror aims at the same alteration of the earth's surface. As his rights are only founded upon might, they can also in all justice be destroyed by might; with a view, therefore, of placing them under the protecting shield of justice, he longs to obliterate their origin and to consign the past to oblivion.

Every time the Chinese have changed masters through the chances of war, China has received a new name. The

names or surnames of the city of Moukden have increased in splendour with the rising fortunes of the Mandshus, whose cradle it was, until at last when they gained possession of the throne of Pekin, these chiefs called it Cheng-King, *the* Royal Court.*

When Valarsaces,† at the head of a victorious army, founded the dynasty of the Arsacides in Armenia, not only did he alter the name of the city, Van, and change it into Semiramacerte (city of Semiramis), in order to keep up the remembrance of a warlike heroine whose rights, he no doubt pretended, had been transmitted to himself; but, from motives of far deeper policy, he divided his empire into twenty-eight hereditary magistracies, and gave to each a name which was derived from that of its governor or from the title of his office. The old divisions of these provinces disappeared accordingly, together with their national names, and the remembrance of such laws, rights, and customs, as might be a source of annoyance to a foreign monarch.

In another country, it is curious to observe a similar course of action prompted by very opposite motives.

All the old names of the French Provinces contained allusions to varieties of origin, to old predilections, institutions, customs, and privileges. When the French became one people under one system of laws, the accidental parcelling out of lands, and the older names of these fragmentary portions which, together, constituted the whole of the

* Eloge de Moukden, pp. 200, 201. Towns in China frequently change their name, most probably, from similar causes. On a Chinese map which is in the possession of my friend M. S. Douzan, we found by the side of the name of each town a list of all the names it had ever borne.

† Chahan de Cirbied, Recherches Curieuses, &c., pp. 254-257.

French territory, naturally gave way before a more rational division into departments, and before a uniform system of nomenclature which was founded upon geographical position. This was another instance of altering the physical appearance of a State after a conquest; but what a conquest was this! the substitution of union and order for confusion and discord.

Names of towns easily and frequently changed by conquerors.

Names of towns are more easily changed at the will and caprice of conquerors than names of countries. Prusias took possession of Cierus, a small town which belonged to the city Heraclea; the name was derived from that of the river which flowed through the town, but he substituted his own name, and called it Prusias.* In this the king of Bithynia merely followed the example which had been set by most of the chiefs who, since the death of Alexander, had been quarrelling with each other for the tattered shreds of the Asiatic empire. I will now pass over the numerous instances which might be quoted in history, for they would furnish us with nothing but repeated accounts of ruthless wars and odious treacheries, and I will at once go on to draw attention to the case of the Romans, who in matters of policy were most skilful and artful conquerors. They not only divided kingdoms into large provinces, the limits and names of which were frequently changed (a sure method, by the way, of weakening the mutual relations and national habits of a people), but wherever their successes in arms, or their skill in diplomacy, afforded an entrance to their influence, they were especially careful at the same time to introduce their proper names. All allied or friendly kings, in their several kingdoms, founded a Cæsarea† in honour of Augustus. Free cities and colonies

* Memnon. Historicon, lib. xv., xvi., apud Photium, cod. ccxxiv.

† Suetonius in Cæsar. August., c. lx.

adopted the same name, or considered it an honour to bear the names of Julius, or the title of Augustus, which were used as surnames by the imperial family. By a strange fatality, which is unfortunately not a solitary instance, the internal dissensions of the people and the treachery of their chiefs, had brought the Gauls under the yoke, and had included in one common bond of slavery both those who had considered themselves the allies of the Romans, and those who had remained their enemies; even in Gaul, instead of the old national names, others were introduced which placed the towns which bore them under the especial protection of the emperors.*

Crafty policy of the Romans in the matter of names of places.

Another and a last triumph was in reserve for a crafty policy; it consisted in inducing the conquered to feel a personal interest in such changes; in this point, also, the Romans succeeded. For a long time they had accustomed the various nations to ask, as a signal mark of favour, that they might be allowed to use the Latin language in public;† the names, therefore, which belonged to that language could not but confer honour on the towns which bore them. And yet the Romans took care to retain amongst the new names some of the words and terminations which were peculiar to each country,‡ in order that the ears of the natives might not be offended by a number of wholly foreign sounds. Then again, by illusory concessions of the right of Roman citizenship, of

* Bibracte became Augustodunum, now Autun; Cularo, Gratianopolis, now Grenoble; Andegavum, now Angers, was changed into Juliomagus; Genebum into Aurelia, now Orléans, &c.

† The privilege was granted to the inhabitants of Cumæ, by a special decree, in the year of Rome (U. C.) 512. Tit. Liv., lib. xl., c. xlii.

‡ Dunum, a mountain or hill; Brig and Briva, a bridge; Magus, a small town or cluster of hamlets.

titles, privileges, and distinctions, which were in reality but so many different degrees of servitude, they induced the oppressed people to believe that they were Romans, and to desire the honour of being considered as such. The feeling survived the invasions of the northern nations, and created an unconquerable desire to trace origins from a Roman source. Men were prouder of being born in a town which had received a name some fifteen or eighteen centuries before from a foreign robber, than they were of the one which recalled their native tongue. Instances of this preference are common in England, in Germany, and in France, and even in countries where it is doubtful whether the Romans ever established themselves permanently; they furnish an example of a singular perversion of pride, which seeks to gain greater nobility for itself in the recollection of national disasters and the decline of ancestral glories. "This country is our own, we have made it fertile by the sweat of our brows, and sealed its conquest with our blood. Others have called themselves its proprietors; by what right? They came here, and without either pretext or fear of personal danger, they massacred the peaceful natives of the soil; whereas we took up arms to effect its conquest, relying upon the first of all rights, namely, that of the slave who refuses to be so any longer. As the immediate descendants of the natives whose cause we have at last avenged, let us obliterate a name which reminds us of their extermination and our servitude: let us restore to our country the name which belonged to it three centuries ago."* Such was the language of the free negroes; and hence the name Tahiti was substituted for that of St. Domingo.

* The above is almost literally translated from various papers published in Tahiti within the last fifteen years.

In addition to the necessity of abandoning names which recall obsolete claims and privileges, we may mention a device which was intended to prevent those mutual jealousies at home, which in course of time are more dangerous than customs and political associations which have been utterly given up. In South America, States which had secured their freedom by individual struggles, combined to retain it. If a town or a province had given its name to the entire confederacy, there would at once have been an affectation of supremacy which none would dare to assume. The new republic was called Columbia; it commemorated the name of the bold navigator who first opened a communication between the two hemispheres—may that name witness an era of sufficiently lasting good fortune to atone for the long series of misadventures of which Columbus was the cause in the regions which he had just discovered!

The name Columbia had already been mentioned by several of the citizens of the United States of North America; they would have liked to substitute that name for one which is decidedly too lengthy, and is distinguished by no characteristic peculiarity. Forestalled in this their choice, it is said that they are in search of another name. In my opinion, there is an obvious one at hand, viz., The Union, and it has frequently been used in public documents. Could we not say the Federalist Republic, the States, the country, the citizens of the Union? If the countrymen of Washington and Franklin will only adopt, definitely, a name which shall remind them of the first cause of the happiness they enjoy—if they will only pledge themselves to act up to their name, and be faithful to their pledges, then the finest monument of human civilization will be safe from the ravages of time and the mischances of fortune.

SECTION XCVII.

CHANGES CAUSED BY THE PRETENDED CLAIMS OF TRAVELLERS. NAMES OF PLACES WHICH ARE CHANGED BY REASON OF ALTERATIONS IN THE NAMES OF PRINCES, CHIEFS, ETC.

Alterations of older names made by comparatively modern travellers.

SCIENCE has her rights, and the discovery of an unknown country is a real conquest. The man who first visits its shore, gives it the name of his own choice, and so takes possession of it in the name of European civilization. It would be far better, no doubt, in every case, to retain the native name, but it is not always easy to ascertain it, and we naturally feel disinclined to retain and repeat words which represent no idea, and bring no recollections to our mind. Not satisfied with using their rights, modern travellers have strangely abused them: each thought he was doing honour either to his country or to himself, when he gave a new name to countries which had already been discovered and named by other navigators. The names given by Christopher Columbus, in 1502, to several places near the Isthmus of Panama,* were altered as early as 1508 by Pinzon and Solis, who pretended to have made the discovery. Dr. John Barrow,† the English traveller, speaks of the Danish traveller, J. Munk, with great severity, for having, in 1619,

* Histoire Naturelle et Civile de la Californie, par Michel Vénègas (French translation, 3 vols., 12mo, Paris, 1767), vol. i., pp. 149, 150.

† Chronological Account of Travels to the Arctic Pole, &c., vol. ii., pp. 1, 2, 3.

English navigators much given to change the names of places already discovered.

altered the names of various points in Hudson's Bay, which had been named by English sailors.

Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes?

What J. Munk did once, and in error, the English have done a thousand times. As jealous as if they were navigators of an inferior rank, their most illustrious men, even the immortal Captain Cook himself, only seem disposed to acknowledge, and would have others only acknowledge, their own discoveries. They are constantly changing the names of coasts, rivers, islands, and promontories; they pretend to be ignorant of the fact that others landed there before them, and they hope posterity will forget it. The proofs which the learned Fleurieu* accumulated in support of this charge have never been answered, still they do not prevent the predatory habits of our neighbours. In a voyage to Baffin's Bay, in 1818, Captain Ross gave English names to bays and rocks which had been discovered many centuries before, which were well known to navigators, which were marked on the maps, and which had been mentioned in books by other and generally adopted names. In English books and maps, the Azores are still called the Western Islands. Can so unreasonable an affectation arise from the fact that whilst England accuses France of aiming at universal empire, she proclaims herself the mistress of all the seas? Then, as a natural consequence, whatever the seas reveal to the sight of exploring travellers, must fall to her share, and receive its new name from her.

* Fleurieu. Découvertes des Français dans le Sud-Est de la Nouvelle Guinée, &c. (4to, Paris, 1790). This was translated and published in London in 1791. The translator has made no attempt to refute the statements contained in the work.

The names of some places vary according to the names of the ruling sovereigns.

That the giving of a name to a place is, in a manner, a proof of conquest and a mark of ownership, is proved by several instances amongst the older nations, where we find that countries frequently assumed the names of their sovereigns. I shall not instance the Cottian Alps, which, according to some archæologists, derived their name from Cottius, the king of the Salassi. That chain of mountains must at all times have had a distinct name, well known to the Romans who had penetrated into them nearly a century before the reign of Cottius. It is more probable, that the prince who was a contemporary of Augustus borrowed a name by which the last of his successors was also known, some sixty years later,* from the mountains which he looked upon as the bulwark of independence.

Now, Arrian calls the capital of the states of King Taxiles, Taxila,† and although Taxiles is not a Hindu name, but rather an altered form, or an imperfect translation of the real name, Arrian expresses himself too positively to admit of the thought that he ignorantly mistook the name of the prince, and that of the capital. It is just possible, therefore, that it was sometimes customary, in that part of India, to call a city by the name of the prince who ruled over it. We have already seen that in Armenia, the magistracies assumed the names of their first governors. The capital of Phrygia, the Troy immortalized by Homer, was successively named after its three first kings.

* Suetonius, in Neron., c. xviii. L'Encyclopédie Méthodique, Géographie Ancienne. In the article under the words "Alpis Cottia," Cultra is mentioned as the king who was a contemporary of Augustus.

† Arrian. De Expedit. Alex., lib. v., c. ii. Pausanias (Attic. c. xx.) mentions a Taxiles who was a general serving under Mithridates, and conquered by Sylla.

Instances of tribes called after the then ruling chief.

The Brazilian tribes change names as often as they change chiefs; and this alteration extends to the territory they occupy, and to the river on the banks of which they happen to be settled.* In the heroic days of Greece, a chief who had given his name to a tribe, might similarly have given it, during his predatory incursions, here to a river, and there to a mountain, and elsewhere to a district, and yet notwithstanding all these repetitions, we should not be justified in looking upon his existence as a myth.

The villages of the little Kabardah remove bodily to great distances, as soon as the resources of the land around begin to be exhausted; they always call the place they live in after themselves, and hence they carry with them names which they have assumed themselves, to a multitude of different places. The appellation is only a temporary one, and is usually taken from the name of the eldest nobleman, or from the most numerous family which the village may contain.†

The honour which is paid to the most numerous family in the Caucasus is awarded in China to the principal family. Wey-Tswùn, in a Chinese romance, is a small town named after the illustrious family called Wey, which lived there.‡

* Relation du Voyage de Roulox Baro, &c. Fifty-first remark by Morisot, pp. 278, 279.

† Jules Klaproth. Voyage en Géorgie, &c., Bibl. Univers. Littérature, vol. vi., p. 60.

‡ Hau Kiou Choaan. Histoire Chinoise, &c., vol. i., p. 11. *Tswün* in Chinese signifies a village, just as *fou* means a town.

SECTION XCVIII.

AN OWNER'S NAME MAY BE GIVEN TO A PROPERTY FROM VARIOUS MOTIVES, SUCH AS PRIDE, SATIRICAL WIT, OR NECESSITY.

A CUSTOM so flattering to man's personal vanity would easily descend from princes to the nobles of the land, and from them to private individuals. A property is frequently called after its owner. The king's palace, or the residence of an eminent functionary, is sufficiently designated by the title of the person who lives in such places. The principle of imitation leads titled people, and even people who are not titled, to have their names written upon their residences with the words "Hotel de;" words which at first caused a smile, but which were eventually sanctioned by custom. But after all, in this matter, the most cynical philosopher can only find fault with the feeling if it degenerates into an excess of exclusiveness. Happy is the country where, under the protection of a fairly administered and inviolable set of laws, the humblest private individual can feel that he enjoys the same privileges and rights in the tenure of his one bit of land, which princes do in the midst of their vast domains! Happy is the country where, in the full confidence of a well assured security, a man can truly say, "my house is my castle!"

Various modes in which an owner's name becomes the name of a property.

In England, the name of a property is formed by adding the word Hall* to the family name. In Western France

* The Saxon word Hall, which is sufficiently well translated by the word *Curia*, court, place of assembly, or dwelling, is, I think, apparent in an analogous sense in various Latin words. Tribunal, the place where

the property frequently takes the name of its owner, with the termination *ière* or *erie.** Then it was not unusual for these local appellations to originate new individual surnames, as, for instance, Guillet de la Guilletière† and Shandy of Shandy Hall. This custom, like many others, is not a modern one. Dun-Lathmon‡ was the name of the palace by the high towers of which the stranger could recognize the abode of Lathmon. Three out of the number of those who first framed the Salic laws record the name of their property, and we find it to be founded on their own proper name: Sale-Gast de Sale-Haim, Bodo-Gast de Bodo-Haim, and Wido-Gast de Wido-Haim.§

the tribe met, and where the tribune, its chief officer, administered justice. Viminal, the singular of Viminalia, was used by Pliny to describe a place where the willow tree (*vimen*) abounded. Bidental, the place where a kid (*bidens*) was killed and buried. In the Celto-Breton dialect *aël* seems to bear the same meaning. Judicaël, the jurisdiction of Judic (Mémoires de l'Académie Celtique, vol. iii., p. 70).

* The final, *erie*, is especially common in the departmental division of Parthenay; la Robinerie, la Morisseterie, &c., the residences of Robin, Morisset, &c. (Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de France, vol. iii., p. 282).

† Guillet de la Guilletière, author of a work entitled, "Athènes Ancienne et Nouvelle," (1 vol., 12mo, Paris, 1675,) and of another, "Lacédémone Ancienne et Nouvelle," (2 vols., 12mo, Paris, 1676).

‡ Ossian's Poems—Lathmon and Cuthona. *Dun*, a hill.

§ *Haim*, *heim*, a dwelling, the root of the word *hameau* in French, and *hamlet* in English. The termination of the three men's names is a title; *Gast* means a guest, and in this instance signifies a guest of the king, one of the most important personages at his court; in a word, as Perciot has very ably remarked, an *Antrustion* (De l'Etat civil des personnes en France, vol. i., p. 221). It is a remarkable circumstance, that Ducange, in his Glossary, under the word "Gastus," should have attempted another derivation for this title; and, moreover, that he should have failed to recognize in it an office of high dignity, which he defines so well himself in the words "Convivæ regis et Trustis."

The owner's name may be given to his property in spite of himself.

Again, the owner's name may become that of his property without his knowledge, and in spite of himself. If I devote myself to the erection and decoration of a luxurious mansion, forgetting, however, to count the cost of the undertaking, I shall expose myself to the possibility of hearing my work called by my own name, with the addition of a word which is descriptive of my conduct: Folie Gobelin,* or Gobelin Folly, was, three centuries ago, the name of the place which is now occupied by a manufactory of European celebrity; La Folie Méricourt, la Folie Regnault, were names given to private houses before they became the names of the streets in which those houses were situated. Between Niort and Melle, fourteen similarly formed names bear witness to the facetiousness of the people of Poitou.† But whether extravagance passes unnoticed in wealth, because it only seems natural that the two should go together, or whether it is only deemed ridiculous in poverty, this instance of public censure will always fall to the lot of the man who cannot bring a great undertaking to a close, or who has not been able to enjoy it long enough for people to have forgotten that he ruined himself by his scheme. In other cases, French wit uses other arms, hence the name of the Hanoverian Pavilion, Le Pavillon d'Hanovre.

In England, Fisher, a zealous fanatic, gave up the use of his house to the religionists of his sect; the Royalists who destroyed it after the Restoration called it Fisher's Folly.‡

* Rabelais. Histoire de Gargantua et de Pantagruel, livre ii., c. xv.

† Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de France, &c., vol. iii., p. 285.

‡ See the commentators on the following lines of Butler:—

"That represent no part o' th' nation,
But Fisher-Folly congregation."

Cant. viii.

It is not uninteresting to notice the passage of a joke from the manners and customs of a nation to the region of its politics, a joke which the Cavaliers had probably borrowed from the French during their long stay in France with Charles II.; national character may be traced even in the smallest trifles.

Another reason why a property is sometimes called after its owner, is because things which are included under one general name require some kind of particular description: this form of nomenclature is so natural and simple that it occurs at once to the mind; difference of ownership being as far as we are concerned, the best mode of distinguishing between two fields, two woods, or two dwellings. When joined to the name of the owner, the words rock, tower, castle, mountain, court, town, demesne, have contributed to the formation of several names of places. In small towns and villages, and in country places generally, people often say, the Gerard house (la maison Gérard), the Simon house, (la maison Simon,) &c. In Poitou, on the banks of the Charente, these houses would be known as "Chez Simon," "Chez Gérard."* In the vicinity of Geneva, names formed in this way, Chez Charot, Chez Ledens, have become the names of two villages.

* Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de France, vol. iii., p. 282.

SECTION XCIX.

ON NAMES OF PARTICULAR DISTRICTS IN TOWNS; NAMES OF STREETS.

The system of numbering houses in a town was not introduced till a comparatively recent period.

CIVILIZATION gradually progresses, population increases, wealth accumulates, and houses are built nearer to each other; we shall find in towns great numbers of houses, frequent changes, and habitations much subdivided: the name of the owner will no longer suffice to describe a house which he probably does not occupy. What then can be a simpler or a safer method than that of numbering houses, in the districts and in the streets to which they belong? Notwithstanding such simplicity, or possibly as a consequence of it, this method was the last thing thought of; emblems, or, to give them a truer name, signboards, were long used instead. The Pont-Marchand,* which was completed in 1609, was also called the Pont-aux-Oiseaux; it was covered with houses of uniform size, which were all painted in oil-colours, each being distinguished by a sign representing birds of different kinds. This was two centuries ago; but it is less than a quarter of a century since the system of numbering houses was introduced at Zurich, the Athens of Switzerland. Prior to that time every house was decorated with an emblem which furnished it with a distinctive appellation. These emblems are not entirely obliterated, and custom still perpetuates the use

* Commenced in 1599, completed in 1609, and burnt down in 1621. This bridge, which was built of wood, was very near the Pont-au-Change. (Dulaure, Histoire Physique, civile et morale de Paris, vol. iii., pp. 455, 456.)

of them; we find them frequently mentioned on the addresses of letters, and strangers are sometimes surprised when they hear that people are lodging at the Scales, or the Capricorn.

The increasing proportions of a town make it necessary that its districts should be still further distinguished from each other; the name of the most remarkable monument which is found in each usually serves the purpose. At Montpellier and Béziers, these subdivisions are carried further; every cluster of houses which is clearly cut off from the rest by intersecting streets is called an island,* and receives a particular name. This is a relic of an old Roman custom, the word *insula* being used in Rome in the same sense.

An inquiry into the history of the names of streets, districts, &c., is by no means frivolous.

Such details may, to some, appear frivolous; but before they are altogether condemned, let the reader remember that in a vast social system, and in a complicated civilization, the ordinary intercourse of individuals with each other gives importance to the simple yet accurate designation of dwellings and localities, not to mention the additional importance with which the subject would be invested, if we were to go into the question of municipal offices, taxes, the maintenance of order by the constituted authorities, and the various ramifications of general police superintendence. Nothing is trivial, and nothing can be without importance in so vast a system of machinery. A sudden change in the name of a district, of a square, or even of a street, entails great present inconvenience, and much positive annoyance, and may eventually lead to law suits, and possibly to inextricable difficulties. How, in point of fact, can the key to old titles be preserved, when no names but such as have become obsolete can be

* At Montauban it is called a "Moulon."

used to define the exact limits and boundaries of a property.

Names of streets.

The history of the names of its streets, is intimately connected with the history of a town; they frequently commemorate the periods of its enlargement and improvements. These names are monuments, as it were, which serve to guide the student of customs and manners and of the history of civilization. Next to names which record remarkable places, are those which are suggested by religious sentiment, or which, in accordance with the timid and concentrating habits of a dawning system of commerce, indicate the various occupations which are chiefly followed in each street. Street names in Venice still mark the variety and extent of industrial pursuits.* The streets called All-Souls, Limbo, Paradise and Hell, which are situated in the neighbourhood of the principal place of worship in Geneva, recall the times when the Bishop of Geneva was also its manorial lord, or, more properly, its chief magistrate.

In other and equally ancient names, the mental coarseness and general immorality† of the period will be depicted with revolting plainness. But by degrees, and as civilization adds polish to men's manners and purer terms to their vocabulary, disgusting, ridiculous and obscene names disappear, or else they are so altered in their spelling and pronunciation,‡ that

* Daru. Histoire de la République de Venise (7 vols., 8vo.), vol. iii., p. 39.

† Dulaure. Histoire Physique, Civile et Morale de Paris, vol. i., pp. 432, 433. What the author says of Paris may be found in most other towns.

‡ The name of the street called Petit-Musc, was so called after a large residence or hotel, on the old site of which a street was opened. (Ibid., vol. ii., pp. 444–446.)

they cease to be offensive to good taste and decency. Besides which, with greater liberty of action, certain occupations and professions cease to be exclusively localized in the particular streets to which they gave their names. The oddity of a sign may attract the attention of a passer by, and so lead to the manufacture of a name in the case of a new street; or sometimes the name may allude to some remarkable event. Streets may sometimes be distinguished by men's names; custom will naturally select the name of the first well-known person who inhabited the street; whilst an architect who wishes to flatter a magistrate, or some wealthy and influential person, will name the street accordingly.

At a later period, municipal authority will interfere in the matter, and this will in no way tend to diminish the action of a spirit of flattery. In our own day, better thoughts have prevailed in France; the names of streets have begun to record national victories, the successes of distinguished artists and authors, the titles of brave men who have fallen in defence of their country. The charm of such an institution is so great, that we are surprised to find it does not exist in every place where, in the naturally progressive state of society, man is conscious of his dignity. In London I find no street named after John Hampden or Algernon Sidney, and in Geneva I regretted the absence of the names of Berthelier and Lévrery.*

We may go a step farther. In streets, the names of which are matters of history, I should like to see a simple

* The one was put to death in 1519, the other in 1524, by order of Charles III., Duke of Savoy, against whom they were fighting in defence of the independence of their country, with truth and justice as their only arms. (Béranger. Histoire de Genève, vol. i., c. 9, 10.)

inscription, in full view, within the range of all mental capacities, recording the memorable events or public services connected with the memory of the illustrious man named, or enumerating his literary labours, if an author. Why, for example, in the Rue Duphot should we not read as follows:— "Duphot, a General of Brigade, was born in Lyons, in the year 1770. He distinguished himself amongst the defenders of France, more especially in the battle of the Montagne-Noir, in Spain (November, 1795), and in the fight at Tagliamento, in Italy (March, 1797). He died in Rome, on the 28th of December, 1797 (the 8th Nivose, VIth year), murdered in times of peace by those who had already been forgiven by France for the assassination of Basseville. Duphot was virtue personified."*

Suggestions for a short inscription when a street is named after a distinguished person.

Duphot.

And in the Rue Jean-Jacques Rousseau I should suggest this:—"J. J. Rousseau was born in Geneva, on the 28th of June, 1712, and died at Ermenonville, on the 2nd of July, 1778. After giving a fresh impulse to eloquence and philosophy, he fell into grave errors, but secured the triumph of great truths. Emile and the Contrat Social place him in the first rank of the benefactors of mankind."

J. J. Rousseau.

Nothing beyond bare facts should be admitted into these inscriptions; and no inscription should be awarded to a man during his lifetime, or to a prince whose dynasty has not expired, so that flattery might not be substituted for history.

It was proposed that after the 10th of August, 1792, Paris should be divided into as many districts as there were departments in France; the name of a department would have

* See the Mémorial de Sainte Hélène, by Las-Cases, vol. iii., p. 279. 8vo.

been given to each district, and the names of the towns and villages which constituted the department would have been given to the streets of the district.* This geographical plan, which was both absurd and unjust, was probably connected with another of like character, viz., that of giving to Paris the same influence and rights over the rest of France which the Roman city enjoyed over the rest of the Commonwealth.† The system would only be suitable for a common city in a federal republic, such, for instance, as the city of Washington, in the United States of America.

SECTION C.

ON THE PROPER NAMES WHICH ARE GIVEN TO PUBLIC MONUMENTS, TO TEMPLES, STARS, DAYS, MONTHS, YEARS, ETC.

PROPER names are terms which are so peculiarly distinguishing,‡ that, in ordinary life, men will probably affix them to everything which is capable of bearing a name. Of this kind I purpose now to point out those which are connected with the principles and progress of civilization.

Public monuments will naturally be the first to come

* A petition, which was drawn up to this effect, was presented to the National Assembly, on the 31st of August, 1792. See the Journal des Débats et Décrets.

† The conspiracy of the so-called Hébertistes, whose abominable system was described as the Institution of the Municipal Government of the Commune of Paris over the whole of France, after the example of Rome. (Vilate. Causes Secrètes de la Révolution du 9 au 10 Thermidor. 1ere partie, p. 23.)

‡ See § 1.

Names of public monuments.

under our notice. The intention of a civic monument, and the place it occupies, suffice to determine its name. Common justice, however, requires something more in the case of monuments which are erected at the cost of private individuals, and out of consideration for the public good. These should contain and hand down to posterity the name of their founders. In Paris people will always speak of the Hospice Necker and the Hospice Beaujon; and valuing the services of true genius as highly as those of mere wealth, the French will always call that system of irrigation, the Canal de Craponne,* which, assisted by the waters of the Durance, conveys the instrument of an annually increasing fertility into the heart of La Crau.

There are other considerations which determine the names of religious monuments.

Names of religious monuments.

Amongst the Greeks and Romans, the temple was named after the god who was worshipped there; but inasmuch as there were many religious edifices of the same kind, a surname was sometimes added. By Christianity, temples are only raised to the one God, but, in a secondary sense, each place of worship is dedicated to some chosen servant of the Deity, whose name becomes the name of the church, and very frequently of the street, district, or village in which the church is situated.

The various causes which determine the choice of names in the case of Christian places of worship, belong properly to

* The plan was both conceived and executed in the interval between the years 1554 and 1558, by Adam de Craponne de Salon. Papon, Voyage de Provence (2 vols., 12mo, 1785), vol. i., p. 175. Millin, Voyage dans le Midi de la France (4 vols., 8vo, Paris, 1807, 1811), vol. iv., 1st part, pp. 64, 66, 74.

the history of religion; the period, however, when the names of nearly all the churches in Paris were simultaneously changed, belongs to the history of man.

It was during the existence of the second race,* at the time of the invasion of the Normans, that the unfortunate Parisian vainly addressed his prayers to heaven, and far from obtaining protection for his own domestic hearth, he only saw the temples of the saints given up to the sacrilegious hands of barbarians. If, after so many disasters, his faith in the power or favour of his early patrons began to be shaken; if he then sought to find out protectors less feeble, or better disposed to listen to his prayers; if the priests yielded to the generally expressed feeling, and, perhaps, shared in it, the phenomenon is one which accurately describes the spirit of the times, and the then state of religious opinion, and shows what could be expected from its influence on the intelligence of the people generally, or on the elevation of their national character.

Names of the stars.

Arabian astronomers, like their predecessors, named every star. European astronomers designate the various stars of a constellation by the letters of the Greek alphabet, calling the most brilliant α, the next β, the third γ, &c.; and, with the exception of some few very remarkable stars, such as Regulus and Aldebaran, particular names are only given to the planets and constellations. These, we know, are of great antiquity; their origin is intimately connected with the origin of the ancient religions of the world, whether, according to Dupuis, the theology of astronomy came down from heaven, and gave birth to all the various religious creeds on the earth, or whether it ascended up to heaven

* Dulaure. Histoire Physique, Civile et Morale de Paris, vol. i., p. 326.

from a world then wholly given up to idolatry. It is not now my intention to discuss a problem the solution of which, whatever it may be, belongs to the earliest periods of civilization, but I shall merely content myself with remarking that astronomical nomenclature, which may seem to us so arbitrary, though it may not have been such at first, has long been identified with science as a whole, and this to such a degree, that astronomers have not only been obliged to accept the system, but also to adopt its principles in the names of their own discoveries. The new names which were required, were taken from objects which were analogous to those used in ancient astronomy to represent the constellations.

Leaving the old beaten tracts, Galileo, Cassini and Herschell did honour to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Louis XIV., and George III., by calling their discoveries, viz., the Satellites of Jupiter, those of Saturn, and the last planet of our system, by the respective names of the Medici Stars, the Louis Stars, and the Georgium Sidus. An Italian astronomer* dedicated some Urbanoctavian Stars, which he thought he had discovered and added to science, to Pope Urban VIII. All these were fruitless efforts. The time has long since passed when in a superstitious country, which used to give the name of gods to its princes, and in the midst of a population sufficiently steeped in ignorance to believe that a recently discovered constellation had been newly created, Conon placed Berenice's locks amongst the stars. The time is gone by when the populace of Rome saw in a blazing comet, the soul of the usurper who was slain by Brutus and

* Father Antoine-Marie de Rheita. See Fontenelles, Eloge de Cassini; and Bailly, Histoire de l'Astronomie Moderne, vol. ii., p. 148.

deified by Octavius. The descendant of the merchant who bought and enslaved Florence; the Pontiff who, after a reign of twenty years, left nothing great behind him to be remembered by posterity; the proud monarch who made science and art the auxiliaries of his despotism; the virtuous father of a family who individually contributed so little to history, notwithstanding that his reign was pre-eminently historical; all these have left their names and their dust upon the earth, but not even flattery could inscribe them on the vault of heaven.

Not that modern astronomy has always rejected the use of men's names; a delicate refinement of feeling has awarded this kind of apotheosis as a recompense to the hard-working man of science, who, by the result of his labours, becomes a citizen of the world. After he had discovered, with wonderful accuracy, the spots which are visible on the moon, and made a drawing of them, Hevelius suggested that they should be named after the most celebrated astronomers; the fear of his judging wrongly prevented the carrying out of the idea. Father Riccioli adopted the idea as his own, "and gave great names to the most remarkable spots, and names of inferior degree to the smaller spots. . . . These names were retained."* Right-thinking minds were willing to admit as the distinguishing marks of the planet which seems especially to belong to us, not the names of the ephemeral great ones of the earth, but of the immortal geniuses of intellect and science.

Names of the days of the week, &c.

The various nations which have divided the year into weeks, have nearly all of them given the names of the planets to the days of the week. The names of the months

* Bailly. Histoire de l'Astronomie Moderne, vol. ii., pp. 218, 219.

have sometimes contained in them an allusion to the order in which they succeed each other, or to the season of which they are the heralds: often, too, they are named after the gods or the stars to whom each month is dedicated. This is the case amongst the Parsees, whose religious system calls each day of the month, and each division of the day and night, by the name of some particular spirit. The Armenians gave significant names to the thirty days of the month, and to the twenty-four hours of the day; they were the names either of divinities or mountains.* The Kalmuck Tartars gave the names of animals to their months, days, and hours.† The names of the five elements,‡ taken alternately in their masculine and feminine forms, and in combination with the twelve signs of the Zodiac, enable that people, without the aid of any numeral adjective, to designate each of the sixty years which constitute the cycle which they usually employ in their chronology.

For a period bordering upon eighteen centuries,§ the Emperors of China gave an especial name, and always a name of good omen, to each reign, and to the years of which it was composed. The custom seemed likely to produce

* Chahan de Cirbied. Mémoire sur le Gouvernement et sur la Religion des Anciens Arméniens, &c. (Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de France, vol. ii., pp. 306–311.)

† Nouvelles Annales des Voyages, vol. xii., p. 305.

‡ Ibid., pp. 305, 306. The five elements of the Kalmucks are wood, fire, iron, earth and water. If the two genders belong to each, I think it may be attributed to an intention to describe the active and passive energies of nature; for a combination of the five elements with the twelve signs would give us sixty different names. The combination which they adopted produced 120 names, which no doubt succeed each other in two consecutive cycles.

§ Father Mailla. Histoire de la Chine, vol. xii. Remarques Philologiques sur les Voyages de M. De Guignes, &c., pp. 19–22.

Names given to the various Chinese reigns.

greater accuracy in historical records. However, it only caused greater confusion. The same absolute authority which can determine a name, can, in the same manner, alter it; and this was done by the Chinese Emperors. The names of the various years varied according to the caprice of the then emperor. One case is mentioned in which an emperor made such alterations four times in a reign of twenty-four years. This is only an instance of the vanity which defeats the ends of its own pretensions, by the very wish to serve them too well, and, in the forcible words of a sacred writer, "lies unto itself;" an instance, also, which is as striking as any which I have adduced, and, perhaps, not less instructive.

Changes like those which I have just mentioned can only take place without opposition and resistance in a country like China, or under such conditions of civilization as are intended to add greater moral force to absolute power. In all other countries, the names which men use in all the various conditions of existence must naturally be all but unchangeable. It required no less than the long and peaceful reign of Augustus, and the gratitude which he had called forth from a population worn out by dissensions, and now thirsting for rest, to ratify the change which substituted the names of the Emperor and his adopted father for those of the months Sextilis and Quintilis.* Domitian expressed a wish that the month in which he was born should be called after him; Commodus once thought that he could alter the names of the twelve months; the attempts of those two monsters became abortive when they died themselves.

When France adopted a Republican form of government,

* Augustus and Julius—August and July.

and a Republican era, as it was called, the division of time was wholly remodelled. The year began at the precise time when certain authors thought that man was created, viz., during the autumnal equinox. The months, all equal in length, were intended in the form and meaning of their names to allude to the various seasons to which they belonged, and to the natural phenomena and rural occupations by which they were characterized. The division into weeks which does not agree with either the length of the month or that of the year, was succeeded by a division of the month into three decades, in which every day was named according to the place which it occupied. But as a counterbalancing influence to these advantages of clearness and simplicity, there was the stronger power of immemorial custom, and the confusion which would inevitably ensue when the old calendar had to be consulted, either to verify past dates, or in foreign communications and matters of business with other countries. Still, that was not the root of the matter; the new calendar was connected with a great number of new institutions, so long as they prevailed, the calendar prevailed too, and its disuse was the first step towards a return to the older system.

Names of the divisions of time during the Republican era in France.

SECTION CI.

ON PROPER NAMES GIVEN TO BODIES OF TROOPS, AND TO SHIPS.

FIRST. The historians of Greece have handed down to us the names of various component parts of Alexander's army; most of these refer to the manner in which the soldiers were armed.

Names of troops in Greece.

Roman troops.

In Rome, so long as the service of the soldier ended with the retirement from office of the chief to whom he had sworn allegiance, the legions which were raised and disbanded in the course of one or two campaigns needed no lasting names. But despotism cannot exist without a standing army, so that in the time of the emperors, the legions and other bodies of troops were distinguished by names which were as permanent as themselves; they chose them from amongst the names of the emperors, of the gods, and of various countries and nations, from the shape of their arms and the emblems upon them; and lastly, from words of happy omen, which proclaimed their valour, and were to them as earnests of victory.*

Mediæval troops.

In the Middle Ages, each body of troops was named after the chief whose standard floated at their head. Nothing could be more natural than this, for the men who were commanded by the baron belonged to him, and formed part of his fief. The troops of feudal times were succeeded by regiments which were raised by chiefs who owned them, and by whose names they were called. The use of such names was retained even after a more efficient system of military organization had been introduced. The custom was also so far extended, that the name and title of a queen or of an infant prince was sometimes given to a regiment.

French troops.

Several bodies of troops in France were named after some of the Provinces, and hence the names of Champagne, Navarre and Normandy soon served to recall glorious re-

* See the Notitia dignitatum utriusque imperii, &c., passim, as regards the names of various bodies of troops, and the objects represented on their shields. On a marble slab which has been preserved in the Capitol, the names of the thirty-five legions may still be seen. Pancirole gives a copy of the inscription. Notitia, &c. Notit. Imp. Orient., p. 61.

miniscences. Similarly, some six years ago, the legions which constitute the French army received the names of the French departments. There is something very attractive, at first sight, in the system, because it seems so national; but the question soon arises whether the name shall or shall not be arbitrary in character. In the one case, it is unmeaning and, to say the least, useless; in the other, it may become dangerous. Not to speak of difficulties of detail which would be of daily occurrence if the province or the department were forced to contribute the whole or the greater part of the complement of men who bore the name, there would arise first, the most active rivalry, then bitter jealousies and lasting hatreds between one legion and another, and subsequently between one department and another. The result would be a sowing of the seeds of discord and exclusiveness throughout the whole of the country—seeds which are the more dangerous in a warlike country because they are there developed by an individual desire for glory. Sadder still would be the results in a disastrous campaign when each body of troops, or each province, would be anxious to throw the blame of its reverses, and perhaps the impending dangers of the future, upon other divisions of the army.

At the commencement of the revolutionary war, the names of the departments and towns which felt honoured by their being allowed to contribute troops, were given to the crowds of volunteers who rushed from all quarters to the defence of their country. In 1793 a generally organized system assigned a certain number to each regiment, and by that simple title our soldiers were spoken of for twenty-two years throughout the whole of Europe.

The present government has returned to the system of

distinguishing the regiments of French Infantry by means of simple numbers.

Secondly. It is not on land alone that the dissensions of nations and the hatreds of sovereigns give the signal for battle; the sea is sometimes covered with floating citadels, on which, in addition to the dangers of the fight, the sailor has to brave the horrors of shipwreck and of fire.

Greek and Roman ships.

The Greeks and Romans used to write the names of their ships on a square piece of wood fastened on the prow, the name being usually taken from the figure-head which ornamented the ship's prow. Many mythological fables can easily be explained, if the ship to which the emblem had contributed its name be substituted for the animal or monster spoken of. There is no doubt, however, that too extended a use of such a mode of explanation might be made. It is scarcely applicable to periods of very remote antiquity; and it is at all events certain that the name of the ship of the Argonauts, whatever may have been its etymology, was not derived from any emblematic figure.

Names of modern ships.

Names of ships in modern times are so indefinitely multiplied, that it would be difficult to make them express the shape and uses of each ship; their selection seems a purely arbitrary one, and yet it may not be so absolutely.

The caprices of the winds and waves laugh at the science of man, and can master the most courageous; it would be wrong to give up to an enemy's pride the name of a chief who somewhere else may gain a victory, or of a prince, even though his power would not be affected by the loss of the ship.

In order, therefore, to attach a real moral interest to the names of ships, I should suggest that from the numberless

names which have already been given, some few which have become famous on account of their share in a distinguished action should be selected, so that for the future an enumeration of the ships' names in the fleet would also be a record of the splendid achievements of the French navy. What Frenchman on board another Vengeur, if bidden to surrender, would fail to imitate the brave men to whom the Vengeur owed her fame, as she sank engulfed by the waves? La Cordelière is another name which might recall kindred recollections of another glorious feat which is too seldom mentioned. On the 10th of August, 1512, during a naval combat in which the bravery of the French soldiers had compensated for inequality of numbers, the ship Cordelière was set on fire by the English guns. Hervé, who commanded the Cordelière, gave the English admiral chase, succeeded in reaching him, and with his ship, already a prey to the raging flames, he fastened himself to the enemy's side by grappling irons, which could not be got rid of, and blew up the English ship with his own.*

* According to Mézeray and Anquetil, the name of the captain of the Cordelière was Primandet; but all contemporary writers say that it was Hervé.

"Magnanimi manes Hervei nomenque verendum."

Such is the beginning of the epitaph written by Germain de Brie (Brixius), and appended to a poem entitled "Chordigera," in which he commemorates the heroic bravery of Hervé. The poem was dedicated by the author to Anne of Brittany, which would prove that Anquetil was wrong in fixing the date of the burning of the Cordelière in 1514, for Anne died on the 9th of January, 1514. In the works of Thomas More there is an epigram, "Hervea cum Deciis unum conferre duobus," &c., in which he reproaches the French hero for having died only because he could not make his escape; on the other hand, historians tell us that the captain of the Cordelière could easily have escaped, had he been wishful to do so, in one of the ship's boats; but Thomas More was an Englishman.

Names of ships generally.

The names of the ships which sail across the various seas in times of peaceful industry will not be determined by any such considerations, and yet the right to free choice may here again be subject to certain restrictions.

The Neptune and the Venus were ships which had been purchased and brought from a foreign country to Ragusa by natives. The Republican government issued an order that the names should be changed to those of St. Francis and St. Theresa.* This is an instance of tender scruples which the strictest teachings of religion would scarcely have been expected to produce. No doubt, that the motive was a political and not a religious one. In Ragusa, as well as at Lucca, a superstitious devotion took the place of the general corruption and licentiousness of morals which prevailed in Venice; it served to lull the people to sleep, oppressed as they were by the yoke of aristocratic tyranny. The magistrates of Ragusa would permit no deviation from the customs by which their policy was chiefly supported; they were committing an injustice, but they were consistent in their conduct. Their conduct, and that of the Duke of York, afterwards James II., may be viewed in the same light; on the occasion of the Restoration, and on the very day on which he took possession of the English fleet as its admiral, he persuaded Charles II. to change the names of the ships in cases where the people were reminded of any of their most popular leaders, or of the existence of the Commonwealth.†

Wherever commerce extends its operations, it is a matter

* Pouqueville, Voyage dans la Grèce, vol. i., p. 19.

† Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, (Oxford, 1720, 3 vols. 8vo.) vol. iii., p. 768.

of great importance that there should be no mistake in the mode of identifying ships. Their names, when once they have been registered, must not be allowed to be changed without going through certain legal formalities; it would be better still if they were never altered. This is the state of the law in England and in the United States. No regard is paid there to the murmurs or regrets of the man who wishes to forget that the idol of to-day may not be that of to-morrow: the law compels him to retain upon his ships names which have been placed there by the enthusiasm of flattery, and which, with the same enthusiasm, flattery is now anxious to remove.

SECTION CII.

ON NAMES GIVEN TO ANIMALS.

Names given to domestic animals.

We have now, I think, exhausted the subject, and traced out, to its last ramifications, that need of names which is coeval with the use of speech in man. Yet, before we close the subject entirely, we cannot pass over those sensitive and more or less intelligent creatures in the midst of which man lives; the animals he has tamed by his strength or his skill, and the attachment of which his kind treatment would almost invariably secure, were it not for his greater desire to be feared than to be loved. At all periods domestic animals have received proper names; these were often significant, hence it might have been thought that a certain feeling of pride in them could be flattered by such titles. An anecdote is told, facetiously, of two horses, one of which was called Marquis, but his groom only dared to pronounce the name in

Horses. a whisper, lest he should offend the other horse, whose name was Pierrot. We smile at the groom's scruples, and yet we do the same. Listen to a man who is out shooting, and, however sensible he may be, hear what he says when scolding his dog; he will address him in cross language and heap all kinds of reproaches upon him, and yet he knows very well all the time that meaningless sounds, or even words of endearment, if pronounced in the same angry tone and with the same threatening gestures, would have precisely the same effect, and would succeed equally well in bringing

Dogs. the submissive and trembling animal to his feet. Lynceus, Banus, Bores, Amarynthus, &c., names which were sometimes borne by men, were those by which the dogs of Actæon were known, before they had been incited by the implacable goddess to tear their unhappy master* to pieces. Maëra† was the faithful dog by which the burial place of Icarius was discovered, thereby announcing to Erigone that she was fatherless. Argus, the name of an unwearied guardian, was the name of the dog which, after a separation of twenty years, recognised Ulysses on his return, and died of joy at his feet.‡ The bards in their songs often speak of the dogs of the heroes of Morven, and the loud cry of the Highlanders still wakes the echoes of their names in Caledonia.

Greece had neither forgotten the names of the war-horses of Achilles, nor those of the mares which were yoked to his chariot by the lover who first perished in seeking the hand of Hippodamia.§ The victors in the chariot races who were

* Apollodorus. Biblioth., lib. iii., c. iv. † Ibid., lib. iii., c. xiv.

‡ Odyssey, Book xviii., v. 291 and following verses.

§ Pausanias. Eliac., lib. ii., c. xxi.

crowned at the Olympian games, frequently immortalized the horses whose fleetness had won them the palm of victory, by inscribing their names in the temple of Jupiter.* We find in a Latin inscription the names of more than a hundred horses which had won prizes in the Circus at Rome;† for example, the Pompeian, the Domitian, the Tuscan, the Celtiberian, the Gentle, the Brillant, the Superb, some of which remind us of their first owner, others of their native country, and the majority of the external qualities which enhanced the value of their swiftness.

The greatest pride and glory of Alcibiades was to be crowned at the chariot races. Socrates, anxious to bring his pupil to his senses, asked permission to congratulate, not the victor, but the victors, and went forthwith to the stables. What he did with point and refinement of wit would have seemed quite natural to the Mongols of Ourga;‡ when races are run in that tribe, the chief gives presents to the winning horse, besides certain great privileges and distinguished titles.

In some places names are even given to cattle.

In the vast pasture grounds of the Island of Terceira, the lowings of immense herds of cattle are constantly heard. There is not one head, however (and there are not unfrequently more than a thousand in one herd), which does not bear a separate name, a name which is well known to the herdsmen, and always correctly applied.§ It is a curious instance of the power of memory as regards the retention of names. There is another similar instance in the heart of the

* Pausanias. Eliac., lib. ii., c. x., xiii.

† Gruter. Corpus inscript., pp. 341, 342.

‡ Reuilly. Description du Thibet (8vo., Paris, 1808), p. 69.

§ Mandeslo. Hist. Orient., lib. ii., c. xxii.

country which was formerly Latium. Scattered here and there in the desert lands which were in olden times the abode of so many warlike nations, the herdsmen take care to name every herd of cattle committed to their charge.* The physical peculiarities of the cattle being far from sufficient for the supply of all the names they need, the best known family names in Italy are next chosen, and without regard either to rank or dignity, the name of a marchioness or a count is given to a cow or an ox.

We are daily guilty of the same want of reverence (if it be one) for the gods and heroes of antiquity. A dog is often called Pompey, Cæsar, or Jupiter. It is a kind of profanation which is peculiar to modern times, for it does not appear that the ancients practised this mode of insulting the historical reminiscences and the religious idiosyncrasies of other creeds.

SECTION CIII.

CONCLUSION.

And now let man repeat with pride, Our proper name is ourselves. Let him identify himself with that name, strain every nerve to surround it with a halo of respect and esteem; let him devote the whole of his life to the work of making it great, an all-absorbing work which is the parent of so many actions, some profitable, but others, and by far the greater number, disastrous in their issue, because wrong in the eyes of men is more dazzling than right; and in the midst of his pride let him ask himself what will become of that name

* C. V. Bonstetten. Voyage dans le Latium, p. 295.

which he hopes to perpetuate? It matters little that it is liable to be disfigured and so treated that it can scarcely be recognized when written by the pen of foreign writers; in the history of his own country, so many different persons will have borne the name, that confusion will gradually arise, dates will be offered as objections to the truth of recorded facts, and the veil of scepticism will be thrown over his most brilliant acts. And even if this danger be avoided, if a man has succeeded in immortalizing his name, he will carry along with him a crowd of other men similarly named—worthless, insignificant beings, whose appellations are at last confounded with his own, and only serve to tarnish his good fame. Then, again, ignorance and caprice will prostitute a name which is so fair, so dear, so great, by giving it to some wretched animal, who is now engaged in the service of those who would have been in his, and amongst the uneducated, (which means about three-fourths of the whole human race,) this will be its only chance of immortality.*

Everything is transitory: men, families, towns, nations, empires, divinities, and religious creeds. The names of the gods whom men worshipped in the vast tracts of Germany,—the names of the gods whose worship and whose fame were destined to be introduced into so many different countries by the warlike expeditions of the Celtic races, disappear gradually from the pages of history, and having been consigned to the archives of knowledge, are not all known even to men of science. The lists of the kings who filled Asia and

* There is a comedy in which the absurdities and atrocities of a disastrous epoch are ably pourtrayed; in one of its scenes an ordinary messenger is advised to change his name and call himself Cæsar. "Fie!" says he, in answer, "Cæsar is the name of a cur!" (Ducancel, L'Intérieur des Comités Révolutionnaires, acte i., scène ix. 8vo., Paris, An III.)

Africa with alarm, kindle no recollections in our breasts; other lists, more numerous still, have perished, we have not even a suspicion of their existence; and yet flattery had declared to all these monarchs, and history had said it to some, that their names would be immortal. Names of countries, rivers, and mountains have undergone changes, or have been altogether lost, never to return. Nothing has been permanent, nothing will remain so. We shall all disappear from the scene of action, and the noise created by the most celebrated names will gradually die away, like the sound of a musical instrument, which is more and more faintly heard, till it is lost in the distant murmur of waters, and the rustling of the wind.

From the moment that it exceeds a few days or a few years, the future is, to us, a strange unknown land. The present alone belongs to us. Instead of attempting to gain an illusory celebrity, may our name win the esteem of our fellow men and our own self-respect; may the name of our country be inseparable from the idea of a powerful and upright state, which it is dangerous to attack, yet unreasonable to fear; and may the name of our God never suggest other feelings than those of justice, humanity, and universal toleration.

THE END.

APPENDIX.

NOTE A.

ON THE PROBABLE DEGREE OF AUTHENTICITY WHICH MAY BE ASSIGNED TO CERTAIN LITERARY PRODUCTIONS, PUBLISHED BY ANNIUS OF VITERBO.

SECTION I.

ANNIUS OF VITERBO IS NOT THE AUTHOR OF THE FRAGMENTS WHICH WERE PUBLISHED BY HIM.

At the close of the fifteenth century, Annius of Viterbo (whose real name was Giovanni Nanni) published a collection of works, which he entitled "Antiquitatum libri XVII."* In this work, which was devoted to scientific and antiquarian research, he discusses several questions; but the book is chiefly composed of commentaries: first, on the three well authenticated works, viz., the two fragments of the Itinerary of Antoninus, and the second elegy in the fourth book of Propertius; secondly, on some works, or fragments of works, supposed to be of ancient date, such as the Antiquities of Berosus, the Origines of Cato, the Biblical Antiquities of Philo, &c. This collection of writings, which was vigorously attacked from the first moment of its appearance, and as vigorously defended, has long been consigned to the region

* The collection of Annius first appeared in 1498, and is also called "Historia Antiqua."

of apocryphal productions, the mere tares in the field of literature.

Impartial judges agree in thinking that Annius may himself have been amongst the first to be deceived as to the value of the fragments which he was publishing.* His language is not that of a man who is trying to palm off an imposition on the public. His own account is, that whilst he was prior in a Dominican convent in Genoa, he treated with the usual hospitalities one brother Matthias, a prior of Armenian Dominicans, and a brother George, his companion, and that from the latter he received the Abridgment of Berosus as a present, to which the fragment of Manetho was probably appended, as it forms a kind of supplement to the other.† As to the other portions of works which he published, Annius states that he found them in the library of a private individual, whose name was Maître Guillaume of Mantua. These are facts which, when the events took place, it might have been easy to verify. They have never been disproved. Father Labat, who does not believe in the authenticity of the collection of Annius, argues,‡ with great reason on his side, for the existence of the books in the thirteenth and probably the fourteenth centuries. Hence, they could not have been forged by Annius; and more than

* Annius was ably defended, when charged with literary forgery and imposition, by M. Fortin d'Urban. See vol. vii. of the Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire du Globe Terrestre avant le Deluge d'Ogyges (12mo, Paris, 1808).

† See the Commentary of Annius on a passage in Book III. of Berosus, respecting the place where Noah remained after he had left the Ark: "A cujus socio magistro Georgio similiter Armeno hanc Berosi deflorationem dono habui."

‡ Father Labat. Voyage en Espagne et en Italie (8 vols., 12mo, Paris, 1730), vol. vii., pp. 95-109.

this, the commentary which he wrote upon them shows that he did not clearly understand their meaning.

In his commentary and theological writings, the style of Annius is remarkable for the purity and elegance of its Latin. No trace of this is visible in the fragments supposed to be forged, and more than this, it is easy to discover characteristic differences in each. The style of the Biblical Antiquities is very similar to that of the Vulgate. The Antiquities of Berosus are full of the most extraordinary barbarisms, palpable errors in names, and omissions which are the source of great confusion. In the fragments which are attributed to Latin authors, the latinity is good and the style flowing, like that of a man who has only to extract, not to translate. Is it likely that Annius would take such pains to imitate different styles, which were neither attractive to his readers nor appreciated by his critics?

SECTION II.

REASONS WHY IT MAY BE DOUBTED WHETHER THESE WORKS WERE LITERARY FORGERIES.

GRANTED, that Annius was not guilty of the forgery imputed to him, it by no means follows that the works themselves which he has compiled are authentic.

Perhaps not; but if every separate work be a forgery, the number of those who are implicated in it must be great, and their very number suggests a doubt. What could have been the object of so many premeditated forgeries? That monks should have invented lives of saints and miraculous stories; that they should have endeavoured to promote the circula-

tion of their religious opinions, under the auspices of old and revered names, is quite conceivable; but what interest could they have had in *composing* writings which were supposed to be ancient, at a time when they were in the constant habit of making erasures in the Greek, Roman and Armenian manuscripts, and of inserting over the old writing their own legends, missals, &c.?

But even supposing that some advantage could be derived. In that case the objection of a learned author is not only appropriate but irresistible, for he was not a man who could be suspected of any favourable leaning to the side of Roman Catholics, and more especially of monks: "Who will be-" lieve,"* Barthius used to say, "that a man brought up in " the retirement of the cloister, could have possessed sufficient " learning to enable him to forge such important documents? " The interpolations, abrupt interruptions in the narrative, " omissions and errors, are caused by the want of good faith " or intelligence in the copyists or translators; but the main " portion of the work was originally compiled from old and " authentic writers." When a character for learning was denied to Annius of Viterbo, how could it be allowed to the monks of the thirteenth or twelfth centuries?

The first ground for such a sweeping condemnation which I shall attack is, I think, founded upon this, viz., that certain writers have obstinately sought to discover in these writings of Annius, works composed by the authors whose names they

* "Quod enim, per deos immortales, prodigium fuerit, claustralem illum et minime tam profundo doctum monachum talia comminisci posse . . . . Nec nos negamus interpolatos universos illos auctores, ruptos, fractos, minime bona aut fide aut intelligentia translatos: tamen antiquitus ex legitimis verisque auctoribus talia argumenta sunt," &c.—Barthius, Animadvers. ad Gallum, (Francofurt, 1623, 8vo,) p. 62.

bear, whereas they are merely abridgments and extracts, which are, unfortunately far too brief, and in which the negligence, prejudices and ignorance of the abridgers, translators and copyists have been the cause of countless instances of alterations and interpolations.

This last opinion, as we have already seen, was first broached by Barthius. It seems a plausible one. The second book of Berosus consists only of a few lines, though there are no signs of any break in the narrative; the first four books occupy together, less space than the fifth book by itself; had they been forgeries, they would have been more equally divided. The books entitled Myrsilus, Xenophon and Metasthenes, occupy scarcely two pages each. If any one were intending to name an apocryphal work with some well-known title, no such neglect of the most ordinary precautions would exist; the similarity to the original would be rigidly observed in all its minutest particulars.

On the other hand, let us suppose that a monk had been desired to make extracts from the manuscripts of his convent, which, when they left his hands, were handed over to the destructive effects of the scraping knife, and thus transformed into antiphonals and psalters; then the origin of such works as those of Annius would be fully accounted for: there is not one of them which does not indicate, in every line of it, the incapacity, carelessness, and hurry of the abridger.

Far from implying the possibility of a literal transcript of authentic fragments from their original authors, this kind of work precluded it. Hence it is a matter of surprise that forgery should have been suspected in consequence of these omissions: not forgetting to transcribe them, the forger

would have carefully made them the foundation of his work, and would have devoted the greatest attention to the labour of correcting them. Such, at least, was the plan of Nodot, when he tried to fabricate a complete Petronius, and palm off his composition on the scholars of his day.

Without attempting any detailed examination, which would lead us too far, I purpose calling the attention of the reader to the extract of Philo, and to that of Berosus. As I have already remarked, the style of the former reminds us of the Hebrew Scriptures. This, however, is by no means a decisive proof of its authenticity: of all the various portions of the work, this is the one which a desire to secure the triumph of a certain set of opinions would expose to the most complete falsification: it would not be the first time that a pious fraud had been employed to prop up purely Christian doctrines, with the alleged testimony of an Israelite. But even then, we can infer nothing as regards the remainder of the work; nor do the suspicious circumstances which we are at present discussing, in any way affect the authenticity of the Itinerary of Antoninus, and the Elegy of Propertius.

Ere long, however, the public will be able to form its own opinion of the real worth of the extract of Philo. M. Zohrab, one of the editors of the Chronicle of Eusebius, completed from the Armenian version, has discovered the Biblical Antiquities of Philo also written in Armenian; this he intends to publish for the benefit of scientific readers. In that work, Philo does not go beyond the text of the books of Genesis and Exodus, and treats his subject in the form of question and answer. The extract of Philo published by Annius is not in the same form, and closes with the death

of Saul. To the objections which naturally arise from this twofold difference, it is easy to answer, first, that the Armenian version may be incomplete; secondly, that the catechetical form may have been adopted by the Armenian translator himself, although such form did not exist in the original Hebrew text; thirdly, that even if it did exist, it was only natural that the abridger should get rid of it, with a view of avoiding lengthy repetitions, which would be most inconvenient in the rapid transcript of an extract. The question of authenticity, therefore, remains untouched; it will be solved by a comparison of the text with the abridgment, wherever they both exist.

As I cannot hope that the same line of argument will dispose of doubts that may exist as to the authenticity of the extract from Berosus, I intend to submit to the judgment of my readers a translation of part of the fragment; next, to append a few remarks, and then to discuss more fully the points which seem to establish or refute its authenticity. The attempt, though it may be a feeble one, may induce more competent writers to undertake the complete translation and full examination of the works of Annius.

SECTION III.

TRANSLATION OF THE FIRST PART OF THE BABYLONIAN ANTIQUITIES ATTRIBUTED TO BEROSUS.

BOOK FIRST.

"BEFORE the well-known disaster by which the whole "world perished beneath the waters, many centuries had "elapsed, the records of which have been faithfully pre-

" served by our Chaldeans. According to their writings, " there lived in those days a race of giants, in a city of great " size, called Enos, near Mount Lebanon, which was the " seat of empire over the whole world, from the rising of the " sun to its setting. Trusting in their strength and colossal " size, these giants made themselves weapons, and oppressed " their neighbours all around. Wholly given up to a life " of indulgence, they invented tents, instruments of music, " and everything which contributes to pleasure."

[The implied reproach which is contained in the statement regarding the invention of tents, is a characteristic trait; it belongs to a people of nomad or troglodyte habits, who look upon any dwelling more convenient than a cave or a cart, as a sign of effeminate refinement (see the conclusion of Book IV.). Berosus may have copied the reproach from the ancient writings that were preserved by the Chaldean priests; a modern writer would never have thought of inventing it.]

" They were cannibals.* . . . . There was no crime " which they did not habitually commit, in their reckless " contempt both of gods and men."

" In those days a great number of prophets announced the " impending destruction of the world, and engraved their " prophecies on stones; but the giants, hardened as they " were in their sinful habits, laughed at the prophets' " threats, at the very time when the wrath and vengeance " of Heaven were on the point of punishing their impious " atrocities.

* I have not translated the following:—" Et procurabant abortus, in eduliumque præparabant; et commiscebantur matribus, filiabus, sororibus, masculis et brutis."

" In Syria there was a giant whose name was Noa . . . ." [Here it is easy to recognize Noah, but the author of the Abridgment always writes the name Noa.] ". . . . the most " righteous and the wisest man in Syria of those who had " not abandoned the paths of virtue. He had three sons, " Shem, Japhet, and Ham. Their wives were Tytea the " Great, Pandora, Noela and Noegla."

[In the Latin, the passage stands in such a way that the women might all four of them be the wives of Noah. Now if the whole thing were a forgery, this would have been avoided.]

" Warned by the stars of the catastrophe which threatened " the world, seventy-eight years before the time predicted " for the inundation, Noah began to make a covered ship, in " the form of a coffer or ark. Seventy-eight years after he " began to build it, the sea rose suddenly above its ordinary " level; all the inland seas, the rivers and springs, bursting " through their usual barriers, raised the waters till they " covered the mountains; unusual rains added to the " calamity, rains which for a number of days fell in im- " petuous torrents and supernaturally flooding abundance. " Thus, the whole of the human race perished, drowned by " the waters, with the exception of Noa and his family; " these were saved in the ark he had built. Carried by the " waves to the summit of Mount Gordieus, the ark rested " there. Some of its remains, it is said, may still be traced, " and men go to the spot for the sake of the pitch which " they use principally in their expiatory rites."

[The Gordieus of the abridger is the Mountain of the Kordyaei of Berosus in the extract taken from his account, as it is given by Eusebius on the authority of Alexander

Polyhistor;* it is the same as the Gorthy or Gordian, the name of which the Armenians gave to the twenty-second day of their month,† and which corresponds with the mountains of the Kurds, the mountains of Armenia in the Vulgate, and Mount Ararat in the Hebrew text. All the Chaldean paraphrasts of the Bible, all the writers who have translated it into Syriac, use the expression, Mountains of the Kurds,‡ wherever they do not retain the original name of Ararat. Asis is another appellation for Mount Ararat, which also belongs to a day in the month, the eighteenth.§ I may remark here, by the way, that the Armenians used to extend the chain of mountains which is designated by the name Masis,‖ very far to the south, and even to Mesopotamia.]

" Commencing their narrative at this period, in the year " when the human race was saved from the waters, our " ancestors wrote innumerable volumes. It is our intention " to condense their lengthy records, and merely to mention " the origin and the names of the kings of such empires as " are to this day considered to be amongst the greatest. " The first and most glorious of all empires is our empire of " Babylon in Asia. In Africa, the Egyptian empire and " that of Libya were at first united in one, and were obedient " to one sovereign. Our ancestors counted four empires in " Europe, the empire of the Celtiberi, that of the Celts, that " of Kytim (a country which by its natives is called Italy),

* Euseb. Pamph. Chronic. Canon., lib. i., c. iii.

† Chahan de Cirbied. Mémoire sur le Gouvernement et sur la Religion des Anciens Arméniens, &c., pp. 307, 308.

‡ Saint-Martin. Mémoires sur l'Arménie, vol. i., p. 261.

§ Chahan de Cirbied. Mémoire sur le Gouvernement et sur la Religion des Anciens Arméniens, &c., p. 307.

‖ Saint-Martin. Mémoires sur l'Arménie, vol. i., pp. 48, 49.

" and that of the Thuyscones which extends from the Rhine " through the country of the Sarmatians to the sea. Some " authors add a fifth, which they call the Ionic Empire."

BOOK THE SECOND.

" It must be admitted, from the foregoing account and the " writings of the Chaldeans and Scythians, that when the " waters had disappeared from the face of the earth, there " only remained the eight persons of whom we have spoken. " They were in Armenia-Saga. From them the whole of " the human race is descended. Hence the Scythians are " right in calling Noa the father of all the great and lesser " gods, the father of the human race, the chaos and the seed " of the world. Tytea is, by them, called Aretea, *i. e.*, earth, [Arta, in Pehlv'i, means earth,] because in her, chaos " deposited his seed, and from her, as from the earth, all " creatures came into being. Besides his first three sons, " Noa, after the Deluge, begat giants and many other sons. " For the sake of brevity we shall only mention the genera- " tions of all these various individuals; we will begin with " Noa, and then proceed with each of the others.

" In the first place, to Noa-dysir they gave the name of " Ogygisan-Saga, *i. e.*, the illustrious pontiff in sacred matters."

[The Greeks used to call everything that was very ancient Ὠγύγιος (see Suidas, Hesychius, Dionysius, "De Situ Orbis," &c.). Sophocles also used the word to express antiquity (Philocletes, v. 142). These words, and the name of Ogyges from which they are said to be derived, are probably of Eastern origin. The oak tree under which Abraham dwelt in the neighbourhood of Hebron is called Ogygi by Josephus (Antiq. Judaic. lib. i., c. x.). Castor, quoted by Eusebius,

(Chronic. Canon., lib. i., c. xiii.), mentions a king Ogygus among the Titans, and imagines that he must have been a contemporary of Belus. Be it remarked, however, that this quotation is only found in the Armenian version. Saga seems to be the same word as Jaga, djaga, dchiaga, chaka, dschaka, dschadscha, which means sacred or pre-eminently holy, and which in all countries where Lamaism prevails is the chief title of the Supreme Deity. A Chaldean priest must have known a name which was so much revered throughout the whole of Upper Asia, but a writer of more modern date could hardly have guessed at its existence and meaning.]

BOOK THE THIRD.

"We shall only make a brief extract now of what is related "in our books respecting Chaldean and Scythian history, "with respect to the respective genealogies and descents of "sovereigns and heroes.* The same books mention several "other characters whom we shall pass over in silence, as "their history would contribute little or nothing to the brief "summary† we intend to make; we reserve, however, to "ourselves the right to mention them should it be deemed "necessary.

"We have now to explain how the depopulated globe was "again covered with inhabitants and colonies. The waters "disappeared from the face of the earth, and the land was "dried up by the sun. Noa and his family came down "from Mount Gordieus into the plain which it overshadowed. "The plain was thickly strewn with corpses, from which fact

* "Has igitur principum atque heroum origines atque posteritates abbreviamus ex nostris Chaldæis atque Scythicis libris quoad satis sit."

† Intentam accurtationem.

" the place has to this day retained the name of Myri-Adam, " which means, disembowelled men."

[" Hominum evisceratorum." This is an Italian and not a Latin expression, and is intended to signify that the bowels protruded from the body, because they had burst through all their outer coatings. This is generally the case in the dead bodies of the drowned, when they have remained any length of time in the water.]

" Noa wrote the record of these events upon a monumental " stone. The inhabitants of that place still call it, the place " of the coming out of Noa.*

" Now they (Noa and his sons) knew their wives, who, on the " very day expected, regularly brought forth twins of different " sexes; afterwards, when these twins had grown to years of " puberty, and married, they also had twins at each birth: " for never did either God or Nature, whose desire it is to " spread life throughout the world, fail the wants of creation."

[In the Cosmogony of the Parsees (Boun Dehesch, § 15; Zend-Avesta, vol. ii., pp. 379, 380) we find that from the union of the first man and woman, and from the union of their children, two children, the one male and the other female, were always born at each birth.]

" After a short time, when the human race had multiplied " with great rapidity, and filled the country of Armenia, it " became necessary that its inhabitants should go abroad and " seek new settlements. Noa, the father of all, then at a " very advanced age, had already taught them the doctrines " of their religion and religious rites; he then began to

* George, the Armenian, told Annius that the place was still called Sale-Noa, and that Sale means going out of. St. Jerome translates the word *sale* by egressus, missio.

" instruct them in the human sciences. Consequently, he " drew up a number of secret topics of instruction in natural " philosophy, and consigned them to the books which by " the Scytho-Armenians are only entrusted to their priests. " No one is allowed to consult those books, or to read them, " or to teach their contents to others, except the priests, " and even then only when they are amongst men of their " own order. The same remark applies to the Ritual " books composed by Noa, on account of which he received " the name of Saga, which means priest, sacrificer, or " pontiff.

" Noa also taught men to understand the motions of the " planets; he divided time into years, according to the sun's " course, and the year into twelve months, according to the " revolutions of the moon. Everything that was destined to " happen in the course of the year, and its cardinal divi- " sions, was revealed to men by this science, from the first " day of the year."

[" Cardinibus, hinges." The Equinoxes and Solstices which, in a manner, open the four seasons of the year, were, in the language of emblems, the hinges upon which the arch of heaven moved in its annual revolution.]

" Grateful for such benefits, men looked upon Noa as an " emanation from the Divine Essence, and called him Oly- " bama and Arsa, that is to say, Heaven and Sun, and under " that name they consecrated several cities to his memory; " for up to that period the Scytho-Armenians were in pos- " session of the cities of Olybama and Arsa-Ratha, and " others named in the same way."

[I have been obliged here to make some addition to the text, in consequence of its extreme conciseness, through

which the meaning of the passage is obscured. It will be well to remark, that Ptolemy (Geograph., lib. v., cap. xiii.) places a town called Arsa Ratha near the mouth of the Araxes in the Caspian Sea.]

" Noa went to rule over Kitim, which is now called Italy. " The Armenians regretted his departure so deeply, that " after his death they awarded him divine honours, and " looked upon him as the life of the world. In the two " countries of Armenia and Italy, the one where he began " and the other where he ended his teaching, his reign and " his life, the men to whom he left his most complete books, " those which contained all that he had taught them con- " cerning things both human and divine, worshipped him, " and called him *Heaven, Sun, Chaos, Seed of the Universe,* " *Father of Gods, both great and small; Life of the World,* " *the Giver of Power and Motion to the Heavens and to mixed* " *substances*—[Mixta: the word seems here to mean mine- " rals and their combinations]—*to vegetation, to animals, and* " *to mankind; the God of peace, justice, and holiness; the* " *Warder off of misfortune, and the Guardian of wealth.* " With a view of expressing this, both nations represent his " attributes emblematically* by the course of the sun, and " the revolutions of the moon, and the sceptre of the king- " dom, with which he drives all wicked people and evil " spirits far from the society of men; they also represented " chastity of body and purity of soul, the two keys which " admit to the regions of happiness and religion."

[The emblem of the keys is a very ancient one; Italy

* Text: "Illum utraeque gentes signant, inscriptis cursu solis et motu lunae et sceptro dominii . . . . et castimoniâ corporis et santimoniâ animi duabus clavibus religionis et felicitatis."

attributed it to Janus, but had in reality adopted it from an older mythology.

When we examine this picture, in which Noa the restorer of the human race becomes the Sun, the Life of the World, the Father of all the Gods, it is impossible not to recognize at once the principles of Sabaism,* the old religion of Assyria and of the south-western portion of Asia.

It may have been observed, too, that the name of Heaven, like that of Sun and Life of the World, was also given to the Deity.†]

" With the same reverential feeling, they used to call " Thytea,‡ who was the mother of all living, Aretia, *i. e.*, the " earth; after her death they called her Esta, *i. e.*, fire, be- " cause she presided as a queen at all religious ceremonies, " and taught the young virgins how to keep the fire, which " was used for sacrifices, constantly burning."

[Thytea represents here the passive energies of nature; she combines in herself the attributes of fire and earth, and all creatures are said to spring from her. She reminds us of the Etruscan Goddess, the wife of Vertumnus, who was the active symbol of the sole and universal Deity. We shall see shortly that the husband of Thytea was, in point of fact, worshipped under the name of Vertumnus.§]

" Before he left Armenia, Noa remained content with " having taught men agriculture, thinking that religion and " good morals were better than the riches and the pleasures

* On Sabaism, or Sabism, see Dupuis, Origine de tous les Cultes (8vo edition), vol. i., pp. 18, &c.

† See History of the Names of Men, Nations, and Places, &c., § 66.

‡ The name is variously spelt in the text—Thytea, Tytea, and even Tidea.

§ See History of the Names of Men, Nations, and Places, &c., § 67.

" which lead to debauchery and crime, and which had already " called down the wrath of Heaven upon the earth. He was, " nevertheless, the first to plant the vine, and teach men how " to make wine. Not being aware of the potency of such a " beverage, and of the vapours it exhales, he became sense- " less, and fell to the ground in an indecent posture.

" Chem . . . ."

[This is the way in which the author writes the name of Cham, or Ham, already mentioned in the First Book, with a view, as we shall see, of identifying him with the surname, or rather with the title of Chemesenuus.]

" Chem, as has already been stated, was the youngest of " the first of Noa's three sons. Ever engaged in the study of " magic and sorcery, he was in consequence of this called " Zoroaster. Finding that he was neglected by Noa, who " displayed a marked preference for his younger children, he " began to hate him; but Chem's vices were at the root of " his hatred for his father. Having found him sleeping " heavily, in consequence of having taken too much wine, he " seized the opportunity and struck his father with barren- " ness, mumbling over him some magic incantation, so that " from that time Noa could not make a woman conceive."*

[According to the Rabbis, Ham treated Noah as Saturn did his father Cœlus.]

" Grateful for the present which he had made them of the " vine and wine, the Armenians honour Noa with the sur- " name of Janus. With them the title means, the giver of " the vine, or of wine.†

* Text: " Illius virilia comprehendens, tacitèque submurmurans, carmine magico patri illusit; simul et illum sterilem perinde atque castratum effecit, neque deinceps Noa fœmellam aliquam fœcundare potuit."

† Vinifer, Vitifer.

" Now, Chem was openly corrupting the human race, " assuring the people that it was their duty to commit all kinds " of excesses, just as they did before the days of the Deluge, " and to pay no regard to the kinship or names of mother, " daughter, or sister.* He himself set them the example."

[We have just seen that Chem was also surnamed Zoroaster. We know, too, what foul calumnies were retailed regarding the legislation of the Persians in religious matters, as it affected the public morals. But a short time before the commencement of our era, the Romans still thought that a Persian wise man must be the result of an incestuous intercourse between a mother and her son:

Nam magus ex matre et gnato gignatur oportet.†]

" For this reason he was driven away by Janus, who " was a model of piety, chastity, and modesty. Chem was " surnamed Chemesenuus, *i. e.*, Chem the infamous, the " unchaste, the evil spirit of propagation incarnate. Esen, " among the Aramæan-Scythians means, infamous and un- " chaste. Enua means sometimes a propagator, and some- " times unchaste."

[The foregoing passage is full of importance. Even if we are disposed to admit the etymologies which it contains, the surname should be Chem-esen-enua; but it is not so.

Now, in most Eastern languages, Chemes means the Sun, Fire. If Enua, or Enuus, really mean Propagator, Chemesenuus will mean Propagating Fire; a title which is appropriate to Zoroaster and his successors, and which is still retained by one of the officiating priests in the Liturgy of the

* Text: " Congrediendum esse, ut ante inundationem, cum matribus, sororibus, filiabus, masculis, brutis et quovis alio genere."

† Catull. Epigr. lxxxiii.

Parsees.* Berosus and the Chaldean books having called the priests who successively raised shrines called Atesch Gâh, and small sanctuaries, by the name of Propagators of Fire, the abridger has turned the religious title into the name of an individual whom he identifies with Ham, writing the name in the form of Chem, in order to do so. With regard to the second meaning of Enuus, it may belong either to the writer of the Abridgment or to his translator, who may have been aware of the fact that in old Latin the demons who in human shape have intercourse with women were called Inui.† It will be well to observe, that the author of the Abridgment writes the name, sometimes Chemesenuus, sometimes Chamesenuus, and sometimes again Camesenuus. We shall adopt the first mode of spelling the name as a general rule, as it is the one most frequently practised. It must, however, be evident that in the case of a literary forgery, such variations in orthography would have been carefully avoided.]

"The Egyptians were the only people who adopted the "doctrines of Chemesenuus; they turned him into Saturn, "the youngest of the gods, and dedicated to his honour a "city called Chem-Myn, the inhabitants of which are called "Chemmenites to this day. In course of time, however, "their descendants abandoned such wicked dogmas, and only "retained one objectionable point, viz., the legality of mar-"riages between brothers and sisters."

* History of the Names of Men, Nations, and Places, &c., § 60.

† Isidor. Hispal., Origin., lib. viii., cap. xi. Inui ab ineundo.

BOOK THE FOURTH.

" THE human race had multiplied prodigiously; it became " necessary that men should seek for new settlements. Janus " the father of men . . . . "

["Janus Pater." From this point, Noah is called by no other name, and henceforth we shall omit the title of Father, which is appended to the name wherever it occurs.]

" . . . . Janus accordingly advised the heads of families " to seek new homes, *to live in societies amongst men*, and to " build cities."

[Text: " Adhortatus est homines principes ad quærendas " novus sedes et communem cœtum inter homines agendum " et ædificandas urbes." These principal men who were so ready in their obedience to the patriarch, *i. e.*, to the head of their religion, were already living socially or in societies with other men, like the colonies which he had made subject to them. Who then, were the men amongst whom they were going to live socially? The natives who would be found in the Armenian colonies in the various countries where they were going to settle.]

" He taught them that the world was divided into three " parts—Asia, Africa, and Europe, just as he had known it " before the Deluge. He assigned to each head of a family " the country to which he was to proceed, and promised that " he would himself take colonies into the whole world.

" Accordingly he created Nymbrotus the first Saturn of " Babylonia, in order that he first might go and build a city " in that region. Nymbrotus took with him his son Jupiter " Belus, and with the help of the colonists who were to " follow him, he stole the Ritual books of Jupiter Saga."

[Here, I think, we have an important circumstance as regards the writer of the Abridgment; Jupiter Saga, or rather Sagus (Jovis Sagi) is surely the same as Noa Janus. Had there been any forgery in the case, the confusion and the solecism which makes Sagi the genitive case of Saga would never have existed.

It may be remarked, at the same time, that the name of Saturn, on the etymology of which so many unsatisfactory statements have been made, is here shown to be a title similar to that of chief or monarch.]

" Nymbrotus came with all his people into the plains of " Sennaar; there he marked out a site for a city, and laid " the foundations for a tower of great height in the hundred " and thirty-first year after the human race had escaped " from the plague of waters.

" He reigned fifty-six years. It was his wish that the tower " which he was about to build should equal the mountains in " size and height, in order that it might be a sign and a " monument of the superiority of the Babylonian people " over every other people, and of the right which it possessed " to be called the kingdom of all kingdoms. I shall " therefore begin my history with an account of that empire, " and mention, as I proceed, the years in which its several " princes successively reigned; thus we shall be able to " establish a parallel between the history of this and the " history of the other empires, their annals and the names of " their rulers.

" In the 131st year after the disappearance of the waters, " our nation and our Babylonian city, the first of nations " and the first of cities, were thoroughly constituted and " founded by our Babylonian Saturn. The posterity of our

" ancestors multiplied enormously. Our Saturn did not seek " to secure opulence so much as religion and peace. He " built the tower, but did not finish it; and he did not build " the city of which he had marked out the site, because, after " he had reigned fifty-six years, he was never seen again " upon the earth; he had been removed from it by the gods.

" During the early part of the reign of Nymbrotus, Janus " sent colonies into Egypt, under the command of Cheme- " senuus; into Libya and Cyrene, under the command of " Triton; and into the rest of Africa, under the command of " Japetus, the old Atalaa."

[The name, Atalaa, is probably the same as Atlas; such is the opinion of Annius in his notes on a passage in which we read that Rytes, a contemporary of the fourteenth king of Assyria, was, in consequence of the excellence of his genius, called the Italian Atalaa, in the language of the descendants of Janus.]

" Into Eastern Asia he sent Ganges with some of the " descendants of Comerus-Gallus, and into Arabia Felix he " sent Saba, surnamed Thurifer, or incense-bearer. He gave " the sovereignty over Arabia Deserta to Arabus, and over " Arabia Petræa to Petreius. Cana was governor of the " country from Damascus to the extremity of Palestine.

" In Europe, Thuyscon reigned from the Tanais to the " Rhine by command of Janus, who joined to him the sons " of Ister and Moesa with all his brothers. Their rule " extended from Mount Adula to the southern region which " borders on the sea.* Under them were Tyras, Arcadius, " and Aemathius.

* Mesembryum Ponticum.

" Comerus Gallus settled in Italy; Samotes governed the " Celts, and Jubal the Celtiberians.

" Such are the people who, after Nymbrotus, came out of " Armenia with their families, and the colonies which were " destined to follow them. Each of the chiefs gave his name " to the country in which he settled, in memory of the expe- " dition with which Janus had entrusted them, and as a " monument which in after ages would remind each nation " of its original founder."

[Volney has proved that the enumeration of the sons of Noah contained in the book of Genesis, is merely a list of all the nations known to the author of that book, or to the authors whose statements he repeats. We must view the catalogue of Berosus in the same light, regretting at the same time that we only possess so imperfect an abridgment. The last sentence reminds us of a custom which has prevailed in the East from time immemorial, viz., that of making the name of a people or a country the name of the first ruler of the nation, or of his earliest ancestor.]

" By order of Janus, all these chiefs raised a tower or " fortress, to serve as a metropolis for their colony. As to " the people themselves, they lived in caverns or in chariots."

[Veiis, chariots or carts, a word which had passed from the Oscan into the Latin language. " Veia apud Oscos dicebatur Plaustrum " (S. Pomponius Festus, under the word " Veia").

The passage before us divides the human race into Nomad tribes, living in chariots or carts; and into Troglodytes, or people who live in caves. The Scythians were amongst the former, the Ethiopians amongst the latter.]

" Our Saturn was the only one who exceeded the com-

" mands of Janus, because his great wish was that Babylon " should be the city of cities, and the kingdom of king- " doms.

" In those days, after the departure of the heads of fami- " lies whom he had sent out to found colonies, Janus divided " the men who remained into two portions; for he had kept " at home with himself several sons who were born after the " human race had been saved from the waters of the Deluge, " and besides these, a great number of families whom he in- " tended to lead himself into various distant colonies.

" Scytha, with his mother Araxa, and some colonists " especially selected to settle in Armenia, were left in that " country, and Scytha was the first to bear the title of " king."

[Araxes, a stream or river, becomes the mother of the first king of Armenia, whose name is that of a nation which had been subdivided into a multitude of different tribes: this has frequently been remarked upon. But a circumstance which demands our especial attention is the use of the term Colonists (cultivators of land), and of the term Colonies; the two are constantly occurring in the text. The colonists do not seem to be the descendants of Noah's race, but to constitute a separate and subordinate people.]

" Sabatius Saga was appointed Supreme Pontiff . . . ."

[Sabazius, Sabasius, Sabatius, were titles of the sun in the worship of Mithras;* the Pontiff in this case takes the name of the divinity.]

" Sabatius Saga was appointed Sovereign Pontiff in the " region which extends from Armenia to Bactria, and " which is still called Scythia Saga."

* History of the Names of Men, &c., § 73.

[The name Saga, which first belonged to Noah, was given to Armenia in the beginning of the Second Book; after this it was given to Sabatius the Pontiff, and is then extended in its application to the whole of that part of Scythia which lies between Armenia and Bactria. It is well known that the Persians used to call all the Scythians, Saka. Pomponius Mela divides the Scythians into Cannibals and Sagas;* geographers place the Scythian Sakas on the eastern side of Bactria and Sogdiana, and to the north of Imaus: in the days of Cyrus, a tribe of Scythians, who were at enmity with the Assyrians, lived somewhere between the Tigris and the Euphrates.†

If the meaning of the names Ases and Goths be borne in mind, there will be no difficulty in seeing that the name Saka, or Saga, as applied to a people, is the same as the title Dschaka, Dchiaga, Djaka, &c., *i. e.*, holy or sacred. The name may have been given from an appreciation of the religious habits of the people who bore it, or it may have originated from the circumstance that their neighbours gave them the title of their chief divinity.

The word, in its earliest form, has passed into other languages. Sagus or Saga, a magician or a sorceress, was not used at first in Latin in a bad sense. To these words may be added Sagax, Sagire, Præsagire,‡ which express the perfection of wisdom and judgment, and frequently imply a knowledge of sacred things as a science. The etymology of the French words, *sage* and *sagesse*, is the same. With the Scandinavians, Saga was the goddess of History; the same

* Pompon. Mel., lib. iii., c. vi.

† Encycl. Méthod. Géograph. Anc., article "Sacae."

‡ Cicer. De Divinatione, lib. i., c. xxxi.

name was given to the historical poems, which among that people, as among many others, were originally the records of the wars and personal exploits of their gods. In Anglo-Saxon, Saga means judgment, trial, deposition of witnesses, and hence history or narrative; Sagi-barones are the barons who decide according to justice; Sage-mannus, the prosecutor* in judicial matters. All these words are, in a manner, connected with the functions of the priest, the historian or the judge, who either possesses or teaches wisdom, the sacred science; they are also connected with the attributes of the Deity, from whose inspiration the priest teaches that all science and all wisdom emanate.]

" Last of all, Janus left Armenia to plant colonies all " over the world.

" Such are the facts which our ancestors have handed " down to us in a great number of books. We will now " proceed to the recital of their annals and those of their de- " scendants, following the accounts which are carefully and " correctly reported in our Chaldean and in our early Scy- " thian histories."†

BOOK THE FIFTH.

" As we said before, in the 131st year after the human race " had been saved from the plague of waters, the Babylonian " Empire commenced during the life of our Saturn (Nym- " brotus), who reigned for 56 years, and was the father of " Jupiter Belus.

* Ducange, Glossar., under the words, "Saga, Sagibarones, Sagemannus."

† Quod in nostra Chaldaica et primordiali Scythica Historia fideli memoria conservatum est.

" In the tenth year of the reign of Nymbrotus, Comerus " Gallus established various colonies in the country which " has since been called Italy. He gave the country its " name, and taught its inhabitants to observe the laws and " be just."

[" Et docuit ILLOS," and he taught them. Who are meant here? Not the colonists who followed him, those had received all the instruction they needed in Armenia. It must consequently have been the natives of the country where the Armenian colonies settled, who benefited by these instructions in science and in the knowledge of the laws and of religion.]

" In the twelfth year, Jubal founded the empire of the " Celtiberians. Soon after, Samothes established the colo- " nies of the Dis-Celts; no one at that period could vie with " him in wisdom, hence his name, Samothes."

[Can the Dis-Celts be the Celtic worshippers of Dis, *i. e.*, the Gauls?]

" In the fifteenth year of Nymbrotus, Oceanus came to " the banks of the Nile, and had several children by his wife " Thetys."

[We know that the Nile was formerly called Oceanus, just as many lakes have been called seas.]

" Chemesenuus, the corrupter of the human race, came " from Egypt to instruct the Telchines in the art of magic, " and so ably did he succeed, that he was universally held in " the highest reverence."

[I have adopted the meaning given to the passage by Annius in his Commentary, according to which Chemesenuus visited Crete, or Cyprus, or Rhodes, as the Telchines

who were natives of Crete, had settled successively in the other two islands.]

" In the eighteenth year of the same reign, Gogus, whilst " still a child, succeeded to his father in the government of " Arabia Felix and Sabæa. Triton reigned in Libya, " Japetus (the old Atalaa) in Africa, Cur in Ethiopia, and " Getulus in Getulia.

" In the twenty-fifth year, Thuyscon succeeded in estab- " lishing the settlements of that great people the Sarmatians; " and Mœsa, with the sons of Ister, established the Mœsians " in the country which extends from Mount Adula to the " southern region near the sea.

" In the thirty-eighth year, the Armenian Sagas, whose " population had increased rapidly, took possession of all the " Caspian regions, Armenia, and Bactria. Janus then led " the Janean colonists into Hyrcania, and the Janili into " Mesopotamia, towards the sea below Babylon.

" In the fortieth year some colonists, the children of " Comerus, sought to settle in Bactria. Ganges settled in " India, in the part of the country which bears his name."

[The Hindus worship Ganga, the divinity of the Ganges; according to ancient custom, Berosus turns the local deity into the first chief of the tribe.]

" In the forty-fifth year, a certain union was effected be- " tween the descendants of Mœsa and Getulus, from which the " nation of the Massagetæ arose. At the same period, our " Saturn the King of Babylonia sent Assyrius, Medus, Mos- " cus and Magog as heads of colonies, by whom the empires " of the Assyrians, Medes and Magogs were established in " Asia, and that of the Mosci both in Asia and Europe."

[Was the Asiatico-European position of the Mosci or

Muscovites known in Italy in the fifteenth and earlier centuries? Could the forger of a literary document have guessed it?]

"Anamæon founded the empire of the Mæonians, who "were so called after him. He reigned over them 101 "years.

"The second king of the Babylonians, Jupiter Belus, the "son of Saturnus Nymbrotus, reigned sixty-two years, and "on the site which he had marked out for the building of "Babylon, he erected a fortress rather than a town."

[Text: "Et fundamenta designata Babyloniæ oppidi "magis quam urbis erexit." The distinction between *urbs* and *oppidum* is a just one, and deserves attention.]

"His reign was one of peace, from its commencement to "its close. In the third year of the reign of Belus, Come- "rus, faithful to the customs of Scythia, of which he was a "native, taught the Italians to found cities (urbes) with "chariots or carts, hence the people were called Veii, from "the Saga word Veia, which means a chariot. If a town "thus constituted be a small one, it is called Veitula; if a "large one, it is called Ulurdum; and if a metropolis, it is "called Cyochola."

[We have already seen that the word *Veia* had existed in the Oscan language. Here, again, we may observe that the term *urbes* does not signify towns properly so called, so much as enclosures occupied in common by a tribe. But an important question suggests itself, where did the natives live originally who were taught by Comerus to live in chariots? In caverns, no doubt; for our author has just divided the human race into those who inhabited caverns, and those who lived in chariots. Now, the country in which he fixes the

settlement of Comerus is naturally adapted to furnish great facilities for living in subterranean habitations. There is not a hill or a rock which is not hollowed out into numerous grottoes, hardly one of which can be penetrated by damp; and so well fitted are these caves for human habitation, that the traveller,* from whose notes we are now quoting, could not see them without admitting, as Juvenal did, that they must have been the earliest dwellings of the natives of Latium. Could a literary forger of the twelfth century, or an Armenian monk, have guessed at or even imagined such a coincidence? or, if he had done either the one or the other, would he not have done it to better purpose?]

"Even in our own days, two and four-wheeled† chariots are "used by the Scythians instead of houses; they sleep under "cover of the bottom of the chariot; on the top of it they "carry their furniture and everything required to build their "hut or pitch their tent."

[Text: "Et sub solario quidem stabulum, supra vero habent officinas domus." The sentence is somewhat obscure, and in my paraphrase of it I may not have hit the true meaning. Near the banks of the Akhtouba, Pallas met a horde of nomad Tartars; his account is, that "they place what "property they may have on a large two-wheeled cart, toge- "ther with their tent or hut, which they unload and set up "wherever they intend to make a stay of any length. But "when they only make a short halt they do not trouble "themselves to unload the hut from the cart; they content "themselves with sitting beneath it for the sake of shelter,

* C. V. Bonstetten. Voyage dans le Latium, pp. 353-360.

† Text: "Plaustris et curru."

"and there they carry on their business."* If the words, *beneath it,* refer to the cart, the custom of the modern Tartars explains what Berosus says here of the ancient Scythians.]

"Comerus taught men to enclose the inhabited places "which were called after him."

["Concludit," he enclosed; this could not refer to any enclosure by walls, since he is only speaking of a collection of chariots; in my opinion, the author is alluding to the well-known practice of making a kind of entrenchment or fortification in the form of an enclosure, and doing this with chariots.]

"Tyras, after founding Tyre, occupied the coast with the "heads of the colonies over which he ruled, and peopled "Thrace.

"Arcadius settled in Arcadia, and Aemathius in Aema-"thia. In the fourth year of Belus, Janus led some colonies "out into Arabia Felix; after his own name and surname, he "called the one Noa and the others Janineæ.

"The descendants of Comerus Gallus were called, after his "surname, Galli or Gauls.

"In the fifty-sixth year of Belus, Chemesenuus came into "Italy in the direction of the Comeri. Comerus had ceased "to be seen on the earth; Chemesenuus seized upon the "reins of government over the colonies, and began to corrupt "the people's morals by his many crimes and iniquities.

"Janus having settled a number of colonies on the banks "of the river which flows through Arabia Felix, and called

* Voyages of Professor Pallas in several portions of the Russian Empire (French translation, 8 vols., 8vo., Paris, 1794), vol. vii., pp. 171-174.

" them after himself, Janineæ, passed over into Africa, to the " kingdom of Triton.

" At this period Jupiter Belus began to be affected by a " desire for conquest. A short time before this, Araxa and " his son Scytha had occupied the whole of the region which " lies to the west of Armenia, and extends to Sarmatia in " Europe. When they quitted Armenia, they left there " Sabatius-Saga with the title of king.

" Jupiter Belus found out that he could not conquer the " rest of the nations without first conquering Sabatius, the " king of the Sagas, or putting him to death; accordingly, " he determined to compass his death secretly. The Saturn " of Armenia, fearing that he could not escape the innume- " rable snares laid for him by Jupiter Belus, fled for safety " and concealed himself amongst the Caspian Sagas.

" When about to pay the last debt of nature, Jupiter " Belus commanded his son Ninus to destroy the power of " Sabatius-Saga utterly, and to bring all the tribes into sub- " jection to the Babylonian empire, because that empire was " the first that had been established in the world.

" Having heard of the command of Belus, Sabatius con- " cealed himself amongst the Sagas of Bactria, until a " favourable opportunity should arise either of taking flight " or returning to the throne. The forces which Jupiter " Belus had prepared against him drove him away from his " kingdom about the time of Semiramis.

" At no distant period, Triton left the kingdom of Libya " to his son Hammon, who married Rhea, the sister of Che- " mesenuus, the Saturn of the Egyptians. But, unknown " to Rhea, a young girl named Amalthea became by him the " mother of Dionysius, who by his orders was brought up at " Nysa, a town in Arabia.

"Our historians are of opinion that Ninus, the son of "Jupiter Belus, was the third king of Babylonia; he reigned "fifty-two years."

["Tertius rex Babyloniæ a nostris *scribitur* Ninus." This expression, which seems to imply a doubt, must be observed. We know that Ninus ordered all historical records to be burnt, and all the annals of periods anterior to his own reign, in order that he might seem to be the first king of the Assyrians, the immediate son and successor of the gods.]

"Ninus collected all his forces, and, taking advantage of "the military preparations of his father Jupiter Belus, he "declared war against all the nations. He spared none, and "was especially anxious to put Sabatius-Saga to death, as he "was the object of universal regret. Hence Sabatius re-"mained in exile and concealment amongst his own people* "during the whole of that reign.

"Ninus was the first of our Babylonian kings who extended "the limits of his empire; he was the first also to raise "statues in the centre of the fortified enclosure of Babylon, "to Jupiter Belus his father, to his mother Juno, and to his "grandmother Rhea."

[*The first of our kings;* the expression is hardly an appropriate one, in the case of a sovereign who had only two predecessors, one of whom was a mythological character, who had been removed from the earth by the gods. Justin remarks also, that Ninus was the first who was tempted to make conquests by a desire for fame,† but he states very clearly, at the same time, that before his reign there had been a very considerable interval during which the heads of the

* Text: "Apud suos"—amongst his own. † Justin. lib. i., c. 1.

nations had not tried to extend their limits so much as to maintain them unimpaired. "In Asia," says Diodorus,* "there were formerly kings whose names and deeds have "been obliterated by length of time; Ninus, the king of "Assyria, is the first of whom history speaks." Armenian historians† count even as many as five kings between Belus and Ninus. The existence of a number of sovereigns before the time of Ninus is a fact which Berosus allows to transpire, though he would willingly have concealed it. As regards the circumstances which precede the artifice of Ninus, who pretended to have received a message from Jupiter Belus, *i. e.*, from the god whose son he wished to be thought, we may observe that the order to wage war and to proceed to subjugation was given with reference to nations which had offered no provocation whatever.]

"In the fourth year of the reign of Ninus, the giant "Thuyscon gave laws to the Sarmatians who were settled "on the banks of the Rhine. Jubal did the same for the "Celtiberians, and Samotes for the Celts.

"On the other hand, Chemesenuus the Saturn of the "Egyptians, was trying to demoralize the Comeri in Italy; "he was assisted in this by native nomads and the strangers "he had collected together with the view of forming colonies "in that country, and who, as a body, were called native "mountaineers by the Italians."

[In the text the words are *convenis et advenis; advenæ* are strangers who come into a country; *convenæ* are people of different tribes belonging to the same country, but who join together to form one single city or nation. It is clear that in

* Diod. Sic., lib. ii., c. 2.

† Chahan de Cirbied, Recherches Curieuses, &c., p. 31.

the passage before us, the natives are meant who were found in Italy by the Armenian colonists; this is so far the fact, that they were called natives by the colonists themselves.]

"In Libya, a dispute arose between Rhea and Hammon, in "consequence of the relations which had existed between the "latter and Amalthea. Rhea wished to know where Diony- "sius was, so that she might put him to death. The quarrel "was one which lasted long.

"In the tenth year of Ninus, Janus came from Africa to "the Celtiberians of Spain; there he established two colo- "nies, which he named Noela and Noegla, the same sur- "names which he had already given to the wives of Japetus "and Chemesenuus.

"In the twenty-ninth year Janus crossed into Italy, and, "contrary to his expectations, found that there also, Cheme- "senuus was endeavouring to corrupt the young."

[Cames or Cameses was one of the oldest of the Italian deities. The fragments which are attributed to Cato and to Fabius Pictor in the collection of Annius, place him in the first rank with Janus and Saturnus. A writer guilty of a literary forgery like the present one, if it really be a forgery, would not have failed to connect the tradition with the name of Cames-Enuus, as the abridger sometimes writes it, and to represent Berosus as saying that the impious son of Noah was worshipped in Italy under the name of Cames. On the contrary, the account of Berosus, such as we have it, is that of a writer who merely relates what he has found in the national records concerning the ancient traditions of a far distant country.]

"He bore his conduct patiently for three years; after "which he ordered him to leave Italy with a few of the

"colonists, whom he placed under his command. Next, "he divided the colonies which were then established in "Italy. The Comeri who had become demoralized, the "*advenæ* and the *convenæ*, received orders to settle in the "mountain regions beyond the river Janiculum. To reign "over them, he gave them his daughter Crana, with the title "of Helerna, *i. e.*, a queen elected and raised to the throne "by universal suffrage. Now Janus had sent his two last "children Cranus and Crana and all their descendants into "Italy, when he sent Comerus thither. This family became "a numerous people in consequence of their rapid increase, "and are still known in our own days by the name of Jani-"genes, or descendants of Janus; Janus, however, gave them "the surname of Razenua, the sacred spirit of procreation, in "opposition to the wickedness of Chemesenuus. In this way "Janus showed his desire to separate his own descendants "from the aborigines, and settled them beyond the Janicu-"lum, on the sea-coast. He surnamed his daughter Razenua, "and his son Cranus he surnamed Razenuus."

[Here again we have the words Enuus or Enua in the sense of propagators. The old Etruscans, who, according to tradition, came down into Italy from the top of the Rhætian Mountains and the sources of the Athesis (the Adige), were formerly known by the name of Rasenæ.*]

"Chemesenuus had left Italy. His sister Rhea came to "meet him and married him; both of them were joined by "the Titans, then marched against Hammon, fought with "him, and drove him from his kingdom; and further, forced

* Encyclop. Méthod., Géogr. Ancienne, article "Etrusci." See also History of the Names of Men, Nations and Places, &c., § 89.

"him to retire into Crete. Chemesenuus reigned in Libya, "and had, by his sister Rhea, a son called Osiris, to whom "he gave the surname of Jupiter.

"In the twenty-second year of Ninus, Janus, who had "founded Janiculum in Thusia (Tuscany), during the sojourn- "ing of Chemesenuus in Italy,* determined to make it his "fixed abode, and extended his possessions to the Arno. "Having placed colonies there, he called them Aryn-Janae, "*i. e.*, solemnly named† or dedicated by Janus. Janus "enacted laws and taught them to the people in Vetulonia, "where also, he was chief ruler.

"In the forty-third year of Ninus, Sabatius became con- "vinced that it was impossible to retain any hold upon his "kingdom, and accordingly he left his son Barzanes as king "over the Armenian Sagas, whilst he himself fled to the sea- "coast, to the region inhabited by the Sarmatians. About the "same time, Dionysius, the son of Hammon, took up arms "and drove Rhea and Chemesenuus out of his father's king- "dom. Osiris he kept, and adopted as a son. After the "names of his father and his master Olympus, he called him "Jupiter Ammon and Olympicus. He gave him the king- "dom of Egypt. During the same year, the Virgin Pallas, "who was still very young, was abandoned on the shore of

* Ætate Chemesenui.

† Text: "Aryn-Janas, id est a Jano excitatas." Axare, to name. Axamenta, Salian verses in which all the gods were invoked (S. Pompeius Festus, under the words "Axare" and "Axamenta"). Axitatas seems to be a frequentative form of Axare; it may perhaps mean created, raised. Axit is synonymous with Egerit. Axies Dii are gods who act in concert; Axitiosi, factious people who act in combination with each other. Acitare is synonymous with Agitare (S. Pompeius Festus, under the words "Acitare" and "Axitiosi").

" the lake Tritonis. The same Dionysius who was surnamed " the Libyan Jupiter, adopted her as his daughter. She it " was who taught the Libyans all the details of the military " art.

" About the same period Janus taught the Janigenes Ra- " zenui natural philosophy, astronomy, the art of divination, " and religious rites. He committed all his teaching to " writing, and composed what were called the Ritual Books. " The Razenui adopted all the forms of worship (veneratio) " and the names which were given to sacred things, which " were already in common use amongst the Armenians.

" In the forty-ninth year of Ninus, Giberius, the son of " Jubal, reigned over the Celtiberians, who were named " Iberians after him. In the fifty-first year, Magus, the son " of Samotes, reigned over the Celts, and built several towns " amongst them.

" In the last year of his reign, Ninus gained the victory " over Barzanes, the king of Armenia.

" The fourth sovereign in Babylon was Semiramis, who " was born at Ascalon. She reigned forty-two years. She " surpassed all her predecessors and contemporaries in the " brilliancy of her exploits, victories, triumphs, riches, and in " the extent of her dominions. Of the fortified enclosure of " Babylon she made an immense city, so that it may be " truly said of her that she did not enlarge the city, but that " she founded it. There is not a man who can be compared " with this woman, so many are the wonderful things which " have been written and related concerning her; some to her " disadvantage, but most to the contrary.

" In the first year of the reign of Semiramis, the Egyptian " Juno was born, the offspring of Rhea and Chemesenuus;

" she was afterwards called Isis the Great—she who bestows " fruits and enacts laws, (frugifera, legifera,) the wife of " Osiris.

" In the same year, Sabatius came by sea into Italy, to " Janus the father of men. The latter treated him with " great hospitality, and after a lapse of some years made " him Coritus, and appointed him ruler over the Aborigines."

[Here the text is so ambiguous, that it might convey the idea that Sabatius had given Janus the title of Coritus, and the sovereignty over the Aborigines. However, it will be well to observe, that Annius knew the Latin language too well to have written it so carelessly.

The title, Coritus, seems to be equivalent to the post of viceroy or sovereign elect; the writer of the Abridgment gives it to all the princes in succession who are destined to ascend the throne. Coritus was an ancient king of Etruria, the father of Dardanus and Iasius;* his name was handed down to his successors.† A mountain and a town in Italy were known by the same name; if the word expressed the idea of height or superior elevation, it may have been used to qualify both a mountain and a prince.‡]

" In the sixth year of Semiramis, Mannus, the son of " Thuyscon, reigned over the Sarmatians of the Rhine. " Amongst the Janigenes Razenui, Vesta, the wife of Janus, " entrusted the care of the ever-burning fire to the young " virgins whom she had initiated in the ceremonies of re- " ligious worship.

* Servius in Æneid, lib. vii., v. 209; lib. ix., v. 10; lib. x., v. 719.

† Noël. Dictionnaire de la Fable, article " Coritus."

‡ Servius. In the passages already quoted.

" In the twelfth year, Sabatius-Saga shared with Janus " the duties of the throne.

" In the seventeenth year, Sabatius-Saga taught the people " agricultural pursuits, and the elements of religion.*

" In the twenty-second year Sabatius made Sabus governor " over the Sabines and the Aborigines. He himself con- " tinued to live near the region of Janiculum with the rest " of the Curetes, and there he died."

[Berosus had probably mentioned the Curetes before as companions of Sabatius; the writer of the Abridgment has omitted that passage; the most careless forger would not have made such a mistake.]

" In the thirty-fourth year, Jubaldo reigned over the " Celtiberians, and the son of Hiberus was king on the " mountain which bears his name.

" Zameis-Ninias, the fifth king of Babylon, reigned thirty- " eight years. He did little for the glory of the empire; " yet he ornamented the temples of the gods and increased " the greatness of the Chaldeans."

[The Chaldeans who are mentioned here immediately after the temples, do not denote the nation of the same name, but a priestly caste. I question whether in the thirteenth century the distinction could have been made intentionally.]

" In the second year of the reign of Ninias, when Sabatius " was dead, Janus, who had then reached an extreme old " age, appointed his son Cranus to be Coritus; and eight " years after, he died at the age of 350 years. The Jani- " genes called him Vertumnus, and awarded to him, as it was " right they should, a temple and divine honours."

[The first year of Nymbrotus corresponds with the 131st

* Aliquantulum—some little—a few points only in religion.

year after the Deluge; Nymbrotus reigned fifty-six years, Belus sixty-two years, Ninus fifty-two years, Semiramis forty-two years; if the 130 years be added to the sum total of all the reigns, and to the eight years which had elapsed of the reign of Ninias, we shall find a total of 350 years. Hence the age of Janus is only reckoned from the time of the Deluge. The Book Genesis also mentions the age of Noah as 350 years from the time of the Deluge; the Hebrew and Samaritan texts, and the Septuagint version, all agree upon this point. See also Eusebius, Chronic. Canon., lib. i., c. xvi.]

" During this year Osiris and his sister, who was still very " young, discovered wheat, and the art of cultivating grain. " Osiris began to introduce both into Palestine. On his " return into Egypt, he invented the plough, and all other " instruments which are used in agriculture. He then " travelled here and there in the world to teach men all his " inventions, and became ruler over the whole of the world, " except in the countries which were already subject to " Babylonian rule.

" In the same year, Sarron was king over the Celts. With " the view of softening the manners of men who had only " recently collected together into societies (hominum tum " recentium), he established a system of teaching letters " publicly. Inghaevon reigned over the Thuyscons.

" Arius, the sixth king of Babylon, subjected the whole " of Bactria and its inhabitants to his rule. A short time " before the death of Ninias, Chemesenuus, who had been " driven away from nearly every part of the world, had " reached the country of the Bactrians, and owing to his " great influence, he had won upon them to such a degree,

" that he succeeded in ruling over them with the most abso-
" lute authority. Chemesenuus, having collected a large
" army in Bactria, invaded Assyria.

" Ninias . . . ."

[Ninus is the name in the text; this is evidently the mistake of a copyist, or an abridger, and not of a fabricator. Annius remarks in his Commentary, that if historians have recorded that Ninus caused Zoroaster's death, the error arises from the circumstance that the son of Ninus was sometimes called by his father's name.]

" Ninias fought against him, and having gained the victory
" cut off his head. It was not long before he died. After
" his death, Arius assembled his troops and conquered the
" Bactrians and all the Caspian tribes.

" Cranus-Janigen having lost his sister, celebrated her
" funeral obsequies with great pomp, in company with the
" Razenui and all the Aborigines. In a grove near the Jani-
" culum, he appointed a regular system of worship in her
" memory, and an annual festival. When he had grown old
" he appointed his son Aurunus to be Coritus.

" In the twentieth year of the reign of Arius, Brygus was
" king of the Celtiberians. He founded a great number of
" cities in those regions, and gave his name to them, adding
" to each the name of the chief to whom the care of the city
" was in the first instance intrusted."

[In the Basque language, or language of Biscay, *bria* and *bija* (pronounced with the Spanish iota) means a town;* hence we find the word in Spain in many of the names of places.

* Alexandre Laborde, Itinéraire descriptif de l'Espagne, vol. ii., 2nd part, p. 153.

We read in the text, "Adjectis nominibus capitum originum quibus illa consignabat." Annius interprets *capitum* to mean elevated places, and is of opinion that to his own proper name, or rather to the word Brija, *town*, Brygus, according to Berosus, used to join the name of the elevated ground on which the city was built, in order to form its distinguishing appellation; but it is more than doubtful whether the towns in the names of which the syllable *brij* is found were all built on high ground. The meaning which I feel tempted to adopt is equally open to strong objection.]

"The ancient Hyarbas reigned in Libya; he was a warrior, "formidable in arms, and dreaded on account of his Paladuan "troops."

[Text: "Armis et militiâ paladuæ." During the reign of Aralius the successor of Arius, Hyarbas king of Libya, fought against some Paladuan women, and was conquered by them. Annius is of opinion that the word means female warriors, women initiated in the military institution of the Tritonian Minerva. We have already found Minerva, or rather Pallas, teaching the Libyans all the various branches of the military art. In another place Annius says that Palatua is a surname of Minerva.* Thuscus, in the reign of Altadas, the twelfth king of Assyria, instructs the Razenui Janigenes in the Paladuan warfare, and in the initiations. It is most probable that all these passages allude, in some way or other, to the Amazons of Africa, who are mentioned by Diodorus of Sicily.]

"In the twenty-fourth year of Arius, Aurunus, the son "of Cranus, reigned over the Janigenes; and in the thirtieth

* Annius, Antiq., lib. ii., Institut. I.; de Æquivocis.

" year Dryas, a learned and prudent man, reigned over the " Celts."

* * * * * * *

We have now given our readers a sufficiently copious extract and translation to enable them to form an idea of the Fragment on the authenticity of which they are called upon to decide.

The remainder of the book, however, contains many things worthy of notice. As, for example, that in the time of Aralius, the seventh king of Assyria, Aurunus in Italy places his father Cranus, in the same rank with the Ises (inter Isos), *i. e.*, amongst the gods, and erects a temple to his memory. This reminds us of the meaning of the word Ases, and also of the word Aes-ar, which had a similar meaning in the Tuscan language.

In the reigns of Sparetus and Ascatadas, the seventeenth and eighteenth kings, the historian mentions Chencres, a king of Egypt, who contended with the Hebrews for superiority in the magic arts (de magiâ certavit). Having been beaten by the sorceries of the Hebrews, they drowned him in the sea (Victus Hebræorum magiâ).

The fifth book ends with the reign of Ascatadas, and closes with these words:—

" In these brief notices, we have now recorded what our " historians tell us respecting the sovereigns and the historic " periods of the chief empires of the world, from the time of " the first Deluge, which occurred during the life of Janus, " down to the time of the foundation of the kingdom of " Dardania (Troy)."

The following is the commencement of the Fragment of Manetho, which seems to form a supplement to the Abridgment of Berosus:—

" Berosus, one of the most esteemed of Chaldean his-
" torians, has (in a series of condensed notices) given us a
" summary of the statements made by the Chaldean his-
" torians respecting the chief empires of the world, from the
" time of the great Deluge, which their ancestors say oc-
" curred before the time of Ninus, down to the period when
" the city of Troy was founded. We will begin where he
" ended, and following the reigns of the Egyptian kings, as
" he did those of the Assyrians," &c., &c.

SECTION IV.

THE ABRIDGER OF BEROSUS WAS PROBABLY AN ARMENIAN. WAYS IN WHICH HE MAY HAVE ALTERED THE ORIGINAL TEXT.

WHAT must we think of the Abridgment of Berosus?

It will not be necessary to recapitulate the arguments which lead us to the conclusion, that Annius cannot be the author of it.

There is nothing to show that the monk George, who presented it to Annius, had pretended to have made the compilation, or that he knew the original text of Berosus; Annius would not have omitted to mention so interesting a circumstance. The Abridgment may have been written at a much earlier period in the Armenian language, then it may have been translated into Latin by some of the Italian monks who settled in Armenia; these must be chargeable with any errors of translation from a language which was indifferently understood: all mistakes voluntarily or involun-

tarily made, and all omissions, will belong to the Armenian abridger.

1. I would call attention to the name of Noa, or Noah, with which Berosus was probably not acquainted. But Eusebius (Chronic. Canon., lib. i., c. ii., p. 13) says that the Xisuthros of Berosus is the same as Noah; the Armenian writers are of the same opinion; it was only natural, therefore, that the abridger should conform to it. This is the only difference between the account given by Berosus and that of his abridger.

2. This substitution of names has enabled the writer of the Abridgment to follow the opinion of several Christian authors, and to call the son of Xisuthros, Cham-Zoroaster, the same who in the works of Moses of Chorene is called Zerovan, or Zoroaster, on the authority of Mar-Ibas. Genebrardus, after indignantly denying the authority of such a compilation as the one published by Annius, calls the third son of Noah, Cham-Zoroaster, who, according to his account, peopled Bactria, Egypt, &c. Then, without any further distinction of persons, he adds,—"Zoroaster-Cham invented "sorcery, a science which included medicine, the art of "divination and religion; he established a system of royal "descent amongst the Bactrians and Persians, and was con-"quered by Ninus."* Now, when Genebrardus, a theologian and a man well versed in Oriental and Hebrew literature, so nearly coincides with the accounts given by the writer of the Abridgment, he gives it all the more weight in proportion as he disputes its authenticity.

3. Being determined to identify Zoroaster with Cham, the

* Gilb. Genebrard. Chronographiæ, lib. iv. (Parisiis, 1580, folio), c. i., pp. 18, 19.

writer of the Abridgment turns the title Chemesenuus, Propagator of Fire, into a proper name, a title which still exists in the Liturgy of the Parsees, and which was far too appropriate to Zoroaster and his successors to allow of its being soon abandoned. Thus he embodies, as it were, a long series of pontiffs in one single individual, and is blind to the length of life which he attributes to Chemesenuus. Berosus must surely have known of the difference there was between the founder of the religion of the Magi and the pontiff kings who fought with Ninus, or Ninias. Any fabricator of history would have distinguished them from each other, and would have guarded against an error which was sure to convict him, and, moreover, he would have been especially careful, being both a Christian and a monk, not openly to contradict the account given in the Bible respecting the length of human life after the Deluge. An abridger is not so circumspect; anxious to complete his work, he turns over the page without much thought; he leaves the onus of proof of all assertions made in the work from which he only makes extracts, on the authors of the original. Nevertheless the longevity of this so-called Chemesenuus is not an error committed by the writer of the Abridgment alone; the writers who were copied by Genebrardus shared in the mistake, for they stated that Cham-Zoroaster, the third son of Noah, was put to death by Ninus.

4. Genebrardus is equally mistaken when he says that Zoroaster and his religion penetrated into Egypt and Libya. This was an inevitable result of his confusing Zoroaster with Cham or Ham, whom the Bible represents as the man who populated the north-east of Africa.

5. In certain other respects, it may be a matter of surmise

whether the writer of the Abridgment did not sacrifice the original text to the desire of reconciling the Bible account with national prejudices, or to a wish to connect the early history of Armenia with that of the human race, and civilization in general.

SECTION V.

MARKS OF AUTHENTICITY VISIBLE IN THE ABRIDGMENT OF BEROSUS.

As a counterpart to these various difficulties, we may now go on to examine the marks of authenticity which are visible in the Abridgment of Berosus.

1. We have already drawn attention to certain traits which are eminently characteristic of an ancient historian, and which any one attempting a literary forgery would scarcely have guessed. We might also point out the various respects in which the writer of the Abridgment agrees with the historians of Armenia, who were so little known in Europe before the eighteenth century. Can it be alleged that such an agreement only proves that the forger of this piece of literature was an Armenian? He could not hope to deceive his own countrymen, and his work would not have been less highly prized by Europeans, even though he had presented it to them as an extract from the ancient writers of his own country.

2. It is positively asserted by Philo, whose authority is acknowledged, that the worship of the God-Universe was

the foundation of Sabaism, the religion of the Chaldeans;* this, however, escaped the notice of a great number of observers, who were simply struck with the worship offered by the Chaldeans to the stars and astronomical symbols. The doctrine of the God-Universe is nowhere expressed more strongly or more minutely than in what is said on two different occasions by the writer of the Abridgment, on the deification of Noa-Janus, the father of gods and men.

3. He says most distinctly, that both in Italy and in Armenia, Noa-Janus, in addition to the worship paid to him as the God-Universe, was called Chaos, World, &c. In Ovid,† Janus relates that he used to be worshipped in Italy by the name of Chaos, and that all the various component parts of the universe were only so many parts of his divinity.

4. Janus, when deified, was worshipped under the name of Vertumnus. I think I have already shown good and plausible reasons for inferring that in ancient Italy Vertumnus represented the universal Deity, the God-Universe.

5. There are several minor points which again remind us of the antiquities of Italy, such, for instance, as the expression Coritus, which had become an hereditary title. In other cases, however, it cannot be denied that the abridger contradicts what we know of those antiquities; and we may meet this by remarking, that if traditions were obscure and uncertain in Italy itself, even in the days when Dionysius of Halicarnassus wrote, the Chaldean priests, even those who

* "Chaldæi . . . . . mundum ipsum existimabant deum." Philo. Jud., lib. de Abraham, p. 282.

† Me Chaos antiqui, nam res sum prisca, vocabant, &c.
Ovid. Fast., lib. i., v. 103–112.

had exercised the greatest care to secure accuracy, must surely have known very little of ancient Italy, beyond a few of the names of its sovereigns, a few names of places, and some of the reminiscences connected with the religion of the country.

6. Polyhistor, who is quoted by Eusebius, says that according to Berosus, Xisuthros was warned by Saturn, of the approaching Deluge, which was to destroy the entire population of the world; the account must have been adopted by some Christian writer, who saw in it but a slight variation from the account given in Genesis. According to the Abridgment, it is by the course of the stars that Noa was warned of the catastrophe which was then threatening the world with destruction: " Is (Noa) timens quam ab astris " futuram prospectabat cladem."

When speaking of the great inundations which take place when it pleases the Deity to put an end to the existing order of things and to create a new one, Seneca remarks, " that, " according to Berosus, the *interpreter of Belus*, these great " revolutions are brought on by the course of the stars;" and he adds, that Berosus had thus been enabled to predict the time of the impending conflagration and deluge (Seneca, Quæst. Nat., lib. iii., c. xxviii., xxix.) The title *interpreter of Belus*, which corresponds so exactly with the *sacer interpres deorum* of Horace, seems to me to mean that in the passage quoted, Berosus was revealing the doctrine of the Chaldeans, according to which these pretended catastrophes were but the end and the renewal of astronomic cycles.

Whereas, then, other writers, misled by the mysterious expressions of Berosus, were transforming Time-without-end into Chronos or Saturn, that Time illimitable in which the stars move, whose course brings about the revolutions of

cycles and ages, is it likely that the writer of the Abridgment could so easily have hit upon the doctrine of the priest of Belus,* if he had not had under his eyes the original text of his work?

7. In his explanation of the Chaldean cosmogonies and antiquities, Berosus was obliged to quote names derived from the sacred language, which was always older than the language of the period, and to explain the meaning of such names. And, accordingly, we find in his work, names, both of men and places, which are derived from some unknown language; and one of these words, Aretia, earth, is very similar to the Pehlv'i word Arta. It is difficult to say anything concerning the rest, beyond this, that they may have been doubly disfigured when the abridger and the translator had made them pass through two different languages. It would be well worth the trouble if some philologist would examine these supposed remnants of the sacred language of the Chaldeans; if he succeeded in recognizing their origin, he would be able to change what we now offer as merely a suggestion, into a positive proof of the authenticity of the Abridgment of Berosus.†

* Berosus igitur Babylonius Beli in Babylone Sacerdos. (Tatian. Assyr. Orat. ad Græcos.)

† According to Syncellus, the books of Berosus contained, besides the history of the kings of Babylon, observations on natural history, geography and astronomy, and the Chaldean system on the origin of the world.

In order to facilitate an examination of these words, I will here give a list of them, together with their explanation as it is given in the Abridgment.

Aretia	The Earth.
Arsa	The Sun.
Aryn Janæ . . .	Named or consecrated by Janus.

SECTION VI.

ON THE POINTS IN WHICH THE WRITER OF THE ABRIDGMENT WAS FORCED TO DIFFER FROM THE ARMENIAN HISTORIANS, IN ORDER TO KEEP TO THE ORIGINAL TEXT.

THE agreement between the abridged writings and the Armenian historians is not universal. This may seem strange; Mar-Ibas of Cadinas, who had been followed by all those historians, had taken his authorities from documents in the Chaldean archives, which were removed from Nineveh by order of Arsaces the Great, the grandson of the founder

Coritus	A title which seems synonymous with Viceroy.
Cyochola	A metropolis, enclosed by chariots.
Dysir	Surname given to Noah.
Enos or Œnos . .	Name of a town.
Enuus or Enua .	Propagator. Incubus.
Esen	Infamous. Unchaste.
Esta	Fire.
Helerna	Queen elected by the people.
Janus	Giver of the vine or of wine.
Myri-Adam . . .	Disembowelled Men. Evisecrati.
Noela Noegla	. . . Proper names.
Ogugisan	Illustrious.
Olybama	Heaven.
Raz-enuus Raz-enua	. . Holy Propagator. Sacred Incubus.
Sabatius	A name which seems to be identical with Sabazius, the name of a deity.
Saga	Pontiff, sacred, consecrated.
Ulurdum . . .	Large town surrounded by an enclosure of chariots.
Veitula	Small town similarly enclosed.

of the dynasty of the Arsacidæ;* Berosus must have taken the principal portion of his history from the same archives. But Berosus the Chaldean wrote during the reign of a Greek king, and his only desire was to add lustre to the religion and antiquity of the Chaldeans; the mission of Mar-Ibas the Armenian was to collect materials for the illustration of his country's history, and, a Mazdeïesnan himself, he wrote at the command of a prince who was a zealous follower of the religion of Zoroaster. The different position of the two historians led them to select different monuments, and in order to adhere to the original text, the abridger was obliged to differ from his fellow-countrymen who were copyists of Mar-Ibas.

We shall only refer to the differences I have mentioned respecting two circumstances.

1. It is recorded by Moses of Chorene (and his account seems to be the most consistent with truth) that Ninus, when a quarrel had arisen between himself and the king of Armenia, died suddenly, before he could commence war against him; he adds, and is corroborated by Samuel of Ania, that the first great act of Semiramis on ascending the throne, was the gaining of a triumphant victory over the king of Armenia.† According to the writer of the Abridgment, "Ninus, in the last year of his reign, conquered Barzanes the "king of Armenia." But before this, he had stated that the troops which had been collected by the father of Ninus to

* Chahan de Cirbied. Recherches Curieuses, &c., pp. 257-261. Moses Choren., lib. i., c. iii., et seq.

† Moses Choren., lib. i., c. xiv., xv. Samuel Aniens., part I., c. vii., p. 26. The work of Samuel of Ania was published by Messrs. Zohrab and Maï, at the end of the Chronicle of Eusebius.

march against the king of Armenia had driven the latter out of his kingdom, about the time when Semiramis was queen.*

The contradiction is simply an apparent one, if the historian meant to indicate the time at which Semiramis, the acknowledged wife of Ninus, became all powerful as his consort. But we are surprised at the want of definiteness in the statement "About the time when Semiramis was queen." Ctesias, who is quoted by Diodorus, had probably copied the works of the Assyrian writers which were known to the Persians; he merely says that Ninus died, leaving his kingdom in the hands of his wife Semiramis.† Historians of a more recent date tell us that Semiramis abused the blind fondness of Ninus, succeeded in throwing him into prison, and then procured his assassination.‡ In addition to this their account, which is not contradicted by Ctesias, it may be stated that Semiramis might have kept the death of her husband secret, or even have delayed putting him to death, until she found herself firmly established on the throne by some great deed of daring, as for instance, by the great victory which she gained over the king of Armenia at the commencement of her reign.

The historians, whose works had been copied by Ctesias, passed lightly over the death of Ninus and the subsequent reign of Semiramis; it was easy to remain silent on these points, the Chaldean archives had not been taken away by the Persians.§ But Alexander, who was anxious to see these precious

* Circa tempora Semiramidis.

† Diod. Sic., lib. ii., c. vii. Justin., lib. i., c. i., ii.

‡ Plutarch., de Amor., Diod. Sic., lib. ii., c. xv.

§ Chahan de Cirbied, Recherches Curieuses, &c., p. 307.

annals* completed, allowed the learned men of his day to have access to them, and his example was probably followed by his successors; hence Berosus could neither admit nor contradict facts which were sufficiently well known then to account for their transmission to ourselves. By a cleverly-managed deviation from the thread of the main narrative, he mentions the Armenian defeat as having occurred during the last year of the reign of Ninus; it did occur in that year, for the unfortunate monarch was still living, or was still supposed to be living, at that period; and, moreover, the equivocal expression, "about the time of Semiramis," attributes all the honour and glory of success to the princess whose usurpation it established. Our explanation of the matter is very simple, if the Abridgment be an authentic work; if it is not authentic, I am tempted to repeat the question, what could have been the motive in writing so remarkable a contradiction and so equivocal an expression?

2. The Armenian writers imagine that Zerovan or Zoroaster is the eldest son of the builder of the ark; in the Abridgment now under consideration, Cham or Ham Zoroaster is the last of his sons, and is cursed by his father. Such a difference as this implies a wish to reconcile the account with that given in Genesis. The time at which the Abridgment was written may have had something to do with the matter. As early as the fourth century of our era, Armenian writers began to draw largely upon the writings of the earlier historians of the East, with a view of throwing additional light on the origin and history of their country. From the fourth to the fifth centuries the Persians carried on a long and cruel persecution in Armenia, intending to substitute the religion of

* Chahan de Cirbied, Recherches Curieuses, &c., p. 257.

Zoroaster for that of Christ. If the abridger of Berosus wrote about that time, it is quite natural that he should have expressed the bitterest hatred for the persecuting religion. Annius and the Italian monks who lived in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were utter strangers to such animosities which religious differences alone can create. Ever since the seventh century, it was only against the Mussulmans that the most zealous Armenian felt such a dislike, because they had driven Christianity and the religion of the Magi from Armenia. These circumstances lead us to infer, that the Abridgment of Berosus belonged to a period during which there was a constant struggle between the two religions; but so incomplete a work seems inconsistent with an age in which literature was in a flourishing condition in Armenia.

Without seeking to solve the question by supposing that the work has been seriously mutilated by the translator, I am of opinion that, in the order of birth which is assigned to Cham-Zoroaster, the abridger has only followed the original. Mar-Ibas* had written when Magianism was in the ascendant, and the prevailing religion is always considered the oldest. For a similar reason, Berosus and the Chaldeans would look upon the head of the rival worship as the youngest son of the Father of Men, and as the object of his curses.

I am disposed, therefore, to look upon this particular circumstance, and upon the disparaging terms which are always applied to the name of Cham-Zoroaster or Chemesenuus, as so many proofs of authenticity. These expressions of hatred seem to me to be impressed with unmistakable signs of an

* Mar-Ibas states that he had translated a Chaldean manuscript; but as that work only treats of Armenian history, it could only be a translation or an extract from Armenian works of an earlier date.

oriental type. Thus, zealous Mussulmans always add imprecations when they mention the names of the enemies of Mahomet; thus, also, Samuel of Ania, the copyist of much earlier writings, cannot relate the conquest of Armenia by Semiramis* in eight lines, without naming the queen three times, and without on each occasion applying an opprobrious epithet to the name.

SECTION VII.

THE OPINIONS OF THE CHALDEAN PRIESTS ARE TRACEABLE IN THE ABRIDGMENT OF BEROSUS. VESTIGES OF THE EXISTENCE OF THE RELIGION OF ZOROASTER IN ITALY.

NOTHING can be more natural than the horror manifested for Magianism by Berosus and the Chaldean priests. As the history of earlier periods was gradually traced back, they found everywhere the triumphs of that intolerant mode of worship over Sabaism, or the tolerant creeds of Hindustan. The Medes, Armenians, and Persians had all successively submitted to the yoke, and although it is not positively stated in history, yet there is every reason to believe that this rivalry in religious matters had considerable influence in politics;† the state of civilization at that time, made it a species of national rivalry. What were the *other nations* which could not be reduced to submission until the Pontiff-King of the

* Samuel of Ania, part I., c. vii.

† It was under the auspices of the recently-introduced law of Zoroaster that Gustasp, king of Bactria, threw off the yoke of the king of Touran; it was under the auspices of the same law that the founder of the dynasty of the Arsacidæ rose in Bactria against the Greek kings of Syria.

extensive regions between Armenia and Bactria, had been conquered and put to death? The people who embraced his religion. Now the Pontiff-King is described by a name which belongs to the Mithriac* worship and to the language of the earliest followers of Zoroaster, and we shall be in a position to prove that in the country where he reigned, Magianism was in too flourishing a condition in the days of Semiramis not to have existed there for a considerable period.† According to the Armenian historians, it was in order to avenge the death of Belus, who fell in battle, fighting with the Armenians, that Ninus, his sixth son, thought of waging war with Armenia, on ascending the throne.‡ In the Abridgment, it is Belus himself, the national god of Assyria, the supposed father of Ninus, who, on his death-bed, ordered his son Ninus to conquer and put to death the Pontiff-King of Armenia.

Religious matters were, no doubt, among the causes which led Zoroaster (who was then viceroy under Semiramis) to revolt, and which moreover contributed to his success. At a later period, they induced the Babylonians under the command of Ninus to fight under the Magian prince of Bactria. Religion made it an easy matter for Arbaces to deliver Media from the bond of Babylonian slavery; it caused the Medes under Cyaxares to march against Babylon, and in the time of the ambitious Cyrus, it drove the newly-converted Persians to worship fire. From that time the last-named mode of worship prevailed, and the Chaldeans, notwithstanding their great learning and antiquity, played but a subordinate part. What more was needed? Was it still further necessary, in order to

* Sabatius, Sabazius. † See Note B., § 3, in the Appendix.

‡ Chahan de Cirbied, Recherches Curieuses, &c., pp. 31, 165.

inspire Berosus with a lasting hatred, that a Magian priest* should recently have been laden with honours by Alexander, and taken into the conqueror's train as far as Babylon, there to exhibit the wonders of the mystic science, and to initiate them in the doctrines of his master.

To this jealousy of the historian we must attribute the strange veil of obscurity which enshrouds the progress of Zoroaster's religion, notwithstanding the numerous allusions which are made to Chemesenuus. Annius and the Armenian could not but be aware that many nations had adopted that religion, and could have had no reason for concealing it. So that previous to their suddenly admitting that Zoroaster reigned in Bactria through the influence of the religious creed which he professed, they would not have been silent as to his progress in Media and Armenia; and, turning away their attention from those distant countries, they would not have remained content with describing the prophet, or rather one of his disciples, as one who had obtained great successes in Crete or in Rhodes, and subsequently in Italy, where Sabaism was already most powerful. In such a complication of accounts, it is easy to recognize the personal feelings of a Chaldean priest; the more he delights in enumerating the victories gained over Sabaism, the more does he attempt to throw its defeats into the shade, especially in countries situated near the place of its birth.†

We possess but little reliable information respecting the religion of the Etruscans, before the time when intercourse

* The second Ostanes. (Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxx., c. 1.)

† Berosus asserted in one of his works that the Persians had in old times worshipped the gods of Assyria, Belus and Anaïtis. (Agathias, Hist. Justin., lib. ii., c. ii.)

with Greece had begun to produce material alterations. However, the mythology of Janus and that of Vertumnus indicate most plainly, that the doctrines of Sabaism respecting the God-Universe were the very foundation of their mode of worship. Did the law of Zoroaster ever share the territory of Italy with Sabaism? I shall not attempt to prove it by the astrological doctrine of the 12,000 years, the half of which was spent in the creation of the world; this doctrine, which was believed by the Tyrrhenians,* and the whole of which is found in the Boun-Dehesch might have been brought into Italy by philosophers who professed Sabaism long before the appearance of Zoroaster. Nor shall I instance the perpetual watch over the sacred fire, which was entrusted to a religious body; the pure law which threatens the virgins with condemnation who rebel against the yoke of matrimony, would never have instituted the order of the Vestal Virgins. But the art of directing or diverting the thunderbolts of heaven, has something more conclusive in it still; the Etruscans became celebrated in the art; Zoroaster was not unacquainted with it;† whereas, on the other hand, the Chaldeans knew nothing of it. But, according to Varro, who is quoted by St. Augustine,‡ hydromancy, which showed the face of the gods in water, and necromancy, or the calling up of the dead, were arts imported from Persia into Italy, they were not sciences which could be communicated to any but the initiated, or which could be taught independently of religion. The establishment which the Colchians had founded on Mount Circello in the mountainous regions beyond the river which flows at the foot of

* Suidas, under the word "Tyrrhenia."

† See Essai sur la Magie, les Prodiges, et les Miracles, by Eusèbe Salverte, pp. 174-180.

‡ St. Augustine, De Civitate Dei, lib. vii., c. xxxv.

Mount Janiculum, may give us an idea of the point from which the followers of Zoroaster may have started, when they began to propagate their religious doctrines and laws in Italy; this law was observed in Colchis, even at the time of the expedition of the Argonauts.*

Could such a coincidence have occurred to the mind of any one who was attempting to forge a literary composition during the thirteenth or the fifteenth century? I doubt it. Can we attribute to such a writer, or rather must we not attribute to the original author, the clearly expressed apotheosis by virtue of which, on two different occasions, Noa-Janus became the god of Sabaism, the Heaven, the Sun, *i. e.*, the father and principal motive power in the universe? Had a Christian writer transported Noah into Italy, he would have represented him as teaching the early people the law of the God of Genesis: a Chaldean priest makes Xisuthros into a propagator of the worship of the gods, and ends by identifying him with the Life of the World, the God of the Universe.

SECTION VIII.

THE ABRIDGMENT OF BEROSUS MUST HAVE BEEN FOUNDED ON SOME OTHER WORK THAN THE CHALDAIC CHRONICLES.

Of which of the works of Berosus do we possess an abridgment? Tatianus and Josephus quote three books of Chaldean histories† which Berosus dedicated to Antiochus-Theos;

* See Note B, in the Appendix, § 3.

† Tatian. Assyr., Orat. ad Græcos. Joseph. Contra Appion., lib. i.

the third book mentioned the conquests of Nebuchadnezzar, and ended at the taking of Babylon by Cyrus.

The Abridgment contains five books of Babylonian Antiquities, which end with the reign of the eighteenth king of Assyria; and in the extract of Manetho, which forms a continuation of the Abridgment, it is expressly stated that Berosus ceased to write at that period.

If the abridger be guilty of literary forgery, how is it that he paid no attention to what the ancients said respecting the author whose works he was pretending to restore?

The question becomes doubly necessary, as in a fragment which was published by Annius, under the name of the Persian Metasthenes, mention is made of a book in which Berosus had continued the history of Assyria to the times of Sardanapalus.

But more than this, the fragment of Metasthenes is dated from the thirtieth year of the reign of Seleucus Nicator (B.C. 283), consequently twenty-two years before Antiochus-Theos ascended the throne (B.C. 261).

We might escape from the difficulty by supposing, as some learned authors have done, that there were two men called Berosus.* Our answer is of a more simple character, viz., that in the course of a long and busy life, Berosus had composed many different works. Tatianus quotes two Assyrian histories of his, and besides these, three Chaldean records.

Eusebius,† on the authority of Polyhistor, gives an extract from the First and Second Book of the Babylonics of Berosus; the second closes with an account of the coming out of the ark and the antediluvian genealogies. These two books,

* Chahan de Cirbied. Recherches Curieuses, &c., p. 22.

† Euseb. Chronic. Canon., lib. i., c. i.-iii.

which are purely mythological works, are clearly not the Assyrian histories. If we recognize in them the Chaldean histories, we must be prepared to admit that after devoting two entire books to religious legends, Berosus condensed the whole of the history of his country in his third book, *i. e.*, the history from the time of the Deluge to the taking of Babylon by Cyrus. This could hardly be, for when we read the passage quoted from this book by Josephus, we are compelled to infer that Berosus had gone very circumstantially into details.

But, further, Eusebius says that Polyhistor followed the account of Berosus respecting the number of kings who had reigned in Assyria, down to the time of the taking of Babylon;* now he does not say that he consulted the Babylonics, and it should be observed that he had under his eyes the work of Polyhistor only, and not that of Berosus.

According to Eusebius,† Berosus lived in the time of Alexander; according to Tatianus,‡ he was born in the reign of Alexander; with Volney§ we adopt the latter opinion, and say that he was born about the year B.C. 330. Berosus would be forty-seven years of age in the thirty-eighth year of the reign of Seleucus Nicator. It is not improbable, that he might have already published certain annals which ended with the fall of Sardanapalus, that his work may have been held in the highest estimation for its accuracy and veracity at the court of Alexander's successor on the throne of Babylon, inasmuch as the authorities on which the writer's state-

* Euseb. Chronic. Canon., lib. i., c. iv.

† Coætaneum (Euseb., ibid., c. ii.).

‡ Tatian. Assyr., Orat. ad Græcos.

§ Volney. Chronologie des Babyloniens, Œuvres complètes, vol. v., pp. 125–127.

ments were founded could then be tested; it is still further possible that twenty-two or twenty three-years later, Berosus may have dedicated another work to Antiochus-Theos, or even the same work, with a supplementary addition of 270 years more of Assyrian records. All these circumstances are perfectly possible, and would reconcile the statements of Metasthenes, Tatianus, and Josephus.

But neither of the two works, *i. e.*, the one dedicated to Antiochus, and the one quoted by Metasthenes, corresponds with the extracts published by Annius.

On several occasions, Berosus is made to say that he only pretends to give a briefly condensed summary, and twice, as, for instance, when he gives a rapidly-made extract in his last three books, he quotes the works which he had written on Chaldean history and on Scythian origins.

If this be admitted, and there is nothing absurd in the conjecture, all difficulties vanish; we can even recognize in the Babylonian Antiquities, the Babylonics, the two first books of which had been extracted by Polyhistor. The writer of the Abridgment has only copied a few lines of it, probably because he was a Christian, and therefore was not anxious to transcribe a cosmogony and antediluvian history which did not accord with the book Genesis, or rather because the extract had been already made, and could be read in the Chronicles of Eusebius.

It may similarly be admitted, that in the Babylonian Antiquities it was the intention of Berosus to reduce to historical and chronological form, not only the national cosmogony and geography, such as they had existed in Assyria since the reign of Ninus, but, beyond this, whatsoever might have become known to the Chaldeans regarding geography, history

and the origin and religious traditions of other nations. Hence arise all those names of Greek and Etruscan deities which are given to the deities of Egypt and Assyria; hence, also, arise those extraordinary synchronisms in virtue of which the mythological origin of all nations is placed in regions which to us are still matter of history. Certain works in which history is made to conform with modern chronology, would probably not appear more strange to a contemporary of Ninus, Ægialeus, or Zoroaster.

SECTION IX.

OBJECTIONS TO THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE ABRIDGMENT OF BEROSUS ANSWERED.

SEVERAL objections have been raised to the authenticity of the Abridgment of Berosus.

1. From a passage in Berosus, Josephus infers that, according to that writer, Nebuchadnezzar founded Babylon, and caused the erection of its principal buildings; and, therefore, that it is a mistake to ascribe them to Semiramis;* on the other hand, the abridger states very positively that of a fortified enclosure Semiramis made a large city, so that she may be said to have built Babylon rather than to have enlarged it. The contradiction mentioned by Varerrius† is only an apparent one. Josephus argued wrongly. In his quotation, Berosus only says that Nebuchadnezzar embellished and increased Babylon, which had been founded

* Joseph., Contr. Appion., lib. i.

† Gaspard. Varrerii Censura Berosi Chaldæi (12mo, apud Commelinum, 1698), pp. 17-20.

long before that period.* On the authority of the Phœnician writer Philo, Stephen of Byzantium† dates the foundation as far back as eighteen or twenty centuries before the reign of Semiramis. Philo no doubt attributed it to Belus, as Volney does also. His opinion is strengthened by the authority of Megasthenes,‡ Quintus Curtius, Ammianus Marcellinus, and the historians of Armenia.§ The abridger, accordingly, is correct in his statement; and Berosus, without contradicting what he had said elsewhere of Nebuchadnezzar, may have stated that Belus formed the first enclosure of Babylon, that Semiramis enlarged it, and changed a village into a city.‖ The agreement between the account given by

* See Volney, Chronologie des Babyloniens, Œuvres complètes, vol. v., pp. 128-131.

† Lexicon de Urbibus, under the word "Babylon."

‡ "In the beginning . . . . Belus . . . . surrounded Babylon with walls." Megasthen., apud Euseb., Præp. Evang., lib. ix., c. xi.

§ Q. Curt., lib. v., c. i. Ammian. Marcell., lib. xxiii. Chahan de Cirbied, Recherches Curieuses, &c., pp. 32, 36, 46.

‖ Volney (Chronologie des Babyloniens, Œuvres complètes, vol. v., pp. 190–196,) states what share he thought Nebuchadnezzar could claim in the embellishing of Babylon, and what belongs to Semiramis. In my own opinion, however, he exaggerates the degree of reticence which Berosus and the Chaldean writers would be forced to observe, in consequence of the destruction of all public monuments which had been ordered by Nabonassar, *i. e.*, of such monuments as existed prior to his reign. The remembrances of these were too deeply impressed, and traditions respecting them were too uninterrupted, to make it probable that Berosus, who was no longer subject to one of Nabonassar's successors, but to a Greek prince, and who wrote for Greeks who were already acquainted with the principal events of Assyrian history, should have omitted to mention, and that in a detailed form, and in such terms as the abridger alludes to, Belus, Ninus, and Semiramis. It is quite evident, that in order to conform with the curtailments in chronology which the destruction of records ordered by Ninus must have caused amongst the Chaldeans, Berosus calls that prince a son of Belus, from

the writer of the Abridgment respecting Belus, and the accounts of Megasthenes and the historians, is in my opinion characteristic of an original writer; had an ignorant person attempted to commit a literary fraud, he would not have perceived the characteristic trait; and had a learned one done so, he would have used it to better advantage: the abridger simply reproduces it without an idea of its worth.

2. After quoting Berosus respecting the old religion of the Persians, Agathias complains of the uncertainty which exists amongst historians as to the time when Zoroaster lived.* From this it is inferred that Berosus did not fix the date, whereas the abridger of his works does. The objection would be a good one, if it could be proved that Agathias complained of the silence of Berosus on the subject; but it is easy to see that this uncertainty arises from the difficulty of selection amongst so many various and conflicting accounts which are caused by a multiplicity of Zoroasters.

3. It was long after the death of Berosus that Munatius Plancus founded Lugdunum (Lyons); the abridger mentions a Lugdus who reigned over the Celts, whose name was given to the province and to the people over whom he reigned.†

There are certain spots on the earth which seem to have been destined by nature to become hamlets or towns, whenever circumstances led a number of families in the same neighbourhood to associate themselves together. The banks of the Tiber, between the seven hills, were covered with

whom he was separated by five generations, according to the Armenians, and by more than nineteen centuries according to Philo of Byblus.

* Agathias, Hist. Just., lib. ii., c. xi.

† Mancaleus XIV. rex Assyr., ... apud Celtas Lugdus a quo provincia et homines cognomina sumpserunt. Antiq. Babyl., lib. v.

human dwellings long before the time which we fix as the foundation of Rome, and before that town gave its name to Romulus,* from whom it was alleged in after times that the city had received its name. On the very spot where, in the seventeenth century, Peter the Great founded St. Petersburg, there had long stood a town called Grikia, mentioned in the Scandinavian Sagas. Before the invasion of the Romans, and when the Ædui were contending for supremacy in Gaul† with the Arverni and the Sequani, the position of Lyons was a most important one for military purposes; and even at an earlier period than that, the junction of two rivers marked it out as a place where commercial enterprise would certainly be carried on. At an early period, and it may possibly have always existed, there must have been at least a fortress (oppidum) upon the hill which separates the two rivers, and dwellings scattered here and there upon their banks. When Plancus established his colonists there, from the Roman settlement at Vienne, he increased, embellished, and fortified, but he did not found Lugdunum; he does not claim the honour himself in an inscription where all his titles to fame are enumerated; he simply states that he led a colony there.‡ If he had founded Lyons, he would probably have given it a Roman name, either his own or that of some divinity, and not a Celtic name, which he probably did not understand. A hundred and twenty-five years before, Q. Martius Rex had settled a Roman colony in the city which has since had the honour of witnessing the birth of Marcus

* Jun. Phylargir., in Virgil., Eclog. i., v. 20.

† Cæsar, De Bell. Gall., lib. i., c. vii. et lib. vi., c. iv.

‡ This inscription is quoted by Sigonius, De nomin. Roman., c. penultim.

Aurelius; he made no attempt to change the national name of the place, and was satisfied with adding his own* to it, which, by the way, posterity did not retain. Plancus was similarly obliged to retain a name which had been consecrated by time, and which was most appropriate to a height the base of which ended at the marsh formed by the confluence of the Saône and the Rhône.† The existence of the town at an early period, its foundation by a Gallic chief, the origin of its name which is formed from two words in the native language, and which in the time of the Romans was simply contracted from Lugudunum to Lugdunum,‡ all these things had not escaped the notice of the Greeks,—a proof of this is seen in the "Treatise on the Names of Rivers and Mountains," attributed to Plutarch.§ With respect to Berosus, that date is a modern one; but two centuries before Berosus wrote, the Greeks had some local knowledge of the southern parts of Gaul. Æschylus, in his tragedy of Prometheus Delivered,‖ attributed the singularity noticed in the plain of La Crau (Lapidei Campi) to a shower of stones sent by Jupiter to help Hercules, when he was surrounded by enemies who were on the point of overwhelming him. If at a time when the commerce of the Greeks had not reached the highest point which it ultimately did reach, they were sufficiently well acquainted with this physical peculiarity to seek to account for it by a mythological story, would it be absurd to imagine that two centuries afterwards the name of one of the most important

* Narbo Marcius, now Narbonne.

† See the derivation of Lugdunum, by M. Eloi Johanneau. (Cambry, Monuments Celtiques, &c., pp. 362, 363.)

‡ Dio. Cass., lib. xlvi. § De Mont. et Fluv., c. vi.

‖ Προμηθεὺς Λυόμενος. . . . . C. Jul. Hygin., Poet. Astr., lib. ii., c. vi.; Strabo, Geogr. lib. iv.

places in southern Gaul had become known to the Phœnicians, whose vessels had for a long time traded in those harbours? Having heard the name from them, Berosus might have inserted it in his work, and, as usual, following the regular custom of the East, he would have changed it, as hundreds of other names of peoples and lands have been changed, into the name of a king, or of the chief of a tribe. Similarly modern Orientalists have invented an Andelus,* a grandson of Noah, whose descendants peopled Andalusia, and gave their name to it.

SECTION X.

CONCLUSION.

After the preceding remarks, and when, in the last place, we call to mind once more the circumstance that the extracts of which the compilation of Annius consists must have been mutilated by the negligence, prejudices, and ignorance of the abridgers, translators, and copyists, I think we are justified in coming to the following conclusions:—That these fragments have been too readily classed with literary frauds; that the Abridgment of Berosus contains a number of characteristic traits which can only belong to an original and authentic composition.

That other equally noticeable traits might be found in the other fragments; for example, in the one attributed to Megasthenes, where a peculiarity occurs which, I believe, is only

* D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient., article "Andalous."

found in oriental writings,* viz., that in the reign of Cyrus, Darius, the son of Astyages, ruled over Babylonia for the space of two years as tributary king. That the fragments published by Annius being probably extracts from authentic books which have since been lost, it would be as unreasonable to place unlimited trust in their contents, as to deprive ourselves of the information which may be elicited from them by a discriminating reader.

And lastly, that the Armenian origin of some of these fragments may induce us to hope, that in the libraries of Armenia, the originals of which we have but the translations will some time or other be discovered. I hope most sincerely that the eminent authors who have discovered the complete version of Eusebius and that of Philo, will gain courage from this their first success and attempt fresh conquests in the pursuit of science, and earn fresh claims upon the gratitude of all true friends of literature, history, and antiquity.

* Chahan de Cirbied, Recherches Curieuses, &c., p. 80. One of the Hebrew historians, in a fragment translated by Genebrardus, only assigns one year to the reign or rather the vice-royalty of Darius in Babylon. Historia Cabbala, R. Abraham Levitæ Davidis filii. (Genebrardi Chronogr., p. 540.)

NOTE B.

ON THE TIME WHEN THE FOUNDER OF MAGIANISM LIVED, AND ON THE PLACE OF HIS BIRTH.

I THINK I have already proved, in a satisfactory manner,* that the name of a prophet or of a religious legislator has been frequently given, either to his immediate successors, or to men who, after a long interval of time, were trying with some success to revive him, as it were, in their own persons, and to lay claim to his honours and influence. I instanced Zoroaster in particular, and I showed that the many individuals who bore that much-revered name were the cause of all those doubts which have so long existed respecting the period at which the founder of the religion of the Magi flourished. It shall be my endeavour now to throw some light upon a subject which has so long been shrouded in obscurity.

Volney, a truly learned philosopher, has anticipated us in the field. When I first read in his "Recherches Nouvelles sur l'Histoire Ancienne,"† the discussion on Zoroaster, I thought nothing could be said in addition; but, since then, I think that I have come to a few conclusions which may probably have escaped Volney's notice. It would be impos-

* History of the Names of Men, Nations, and Places, &c., § 58.

† Volney, Œuvres Complètes, vol. v., pp. 1-70.

sible to say how much I regret having been unable to submit to his superior erudition a number of conjectures in which I join issue with his opinions, simply armed, as I am, with arguments, the strongest of which are derived from his own works.

SECTION I.

ZOROASTER, THE CONTEMPORARY OF DARIUS THE SON OF HYSTASPES, WAS NOT THE FOUNDER OF MAGIANISM.

ANQUETIL DUPERRON, to whom we are indebted for the translation of the Sacred Books of the Mazdeiesnans, added to this rare compilation a Life of Zoroaster,* founded on the books and traditions of his followers. He eventually comes to the conclusion, that the founder of their religion is the Zoroaster who was a contemporary of Darius the son of Hystaspes.

The opinion of a man who has devoted his life to the thorough understanding of the religion of the Parsees, is not to be rejected without great consideration.

After the death of Cambyses, the Magi were sufficiently cunning and sufficiently powerful to place the crown of Cyrus upon the head of one of the members of their own order. Hence, they must have been a numerous and well acknowledged body, spread over the whole empire; their form of worship must have been ancient, for a recently established priesthood would not have attempted so bold a stroke, or would have attempted it without success. How

* Life of Zoroaster, Zend-Avesta, vol. i., part ii., p. 1-70.

could they believe that their founder was still living, or that he lived for a considerable period afterwards?* A new religion, when it has to contend with a rival and more ancient creed, does not usually extend with such supernatural rapidity. This, however, would only be one half of the miracle; we should have to admit, that having survived the fall of his ambitious disciples, the prophet rebuilt without difficulty the temples which had been overthrown by popular indignation. The twofold aim in the preaching of Zoroaster, first to establish the worship of fire, and then again to re-establish it, would be an important fact, and would surely be recorded somewhere in history; the pious biographers of the prophet would not have omitted to mention the wonderful occurrence as a divine interference in favour of the continued rule of the pure Law, in spite of the efforts of men and the errors of the priests; history is silent on the subject, and the life of Zoroaster, as far as this point is concerned, does not give the slightest information. Then, again, after comparing two passages from Nicholas of Damascus and Herodotus, Volney† infers that the Persians embraced the religion of Zoroaster after the victory gained by Cyrus over the king of Lydia, and that the same religion had long been professed by the Medes.

Zoroaster, the contemporary of Darius, restored the religious edifices which had seemed to be doomed to perpetual destruction. He assumed the name as a legislator and a

* The difficulty is increased if, according to Æschylus, who was a contemporary of Darius the son of Hystaspes, the reigns of Maraphis and Artaphernes, the fourth and fifth in succession from Cyrus, be placed between the ascent on the throne of Darius and the fall of Smerdis. Æschyl. Pers., v. 776-782.

† Volney, Chronologie d'Hérodote, Œuvres Complètes, vol. v., pp. 37-43.

pontiff, calling himself after the other legislating pontiff whose anciently established work he was endeavouring to restore; in this he followed several earlier instances of a similar character.

SECTION II.

THE TITLE MUST BE DENIED TO SEVERAL ZOROASTERS WHO ARE QUOTED BY THE GREEK HISTORIANS.

It is said that when Pythagoras* was young, he was taught, purified, and initiated by Zoroaster. Pythagoras was, or rather would have been, eighty-eight years of age when Darius ascended the throne. It is not absolutely impossible, but still it is very unlikely, that he should have met in his youth with the Zoroaster who was a contemporary of that monarch. Besides which, purifications and initiations sufficiently well known and sufficiently important to attract the confidence and attention of strangers, presuppose a long established form of worship. Diogenes Laertius and St. Clement of Alexandria say that Pythagoras held conferences with the Magi, and that they taught him their doctrines.† The two statements are easily reconciled; the Magi, especially when they admitted their disciples to a knowledge of their mysteries, used always, either from motives of piety or pride, to assume the name of their first master.

The abridger of Berosus relates that the third son of Noah was surnamed Zoroaster, because he was constantly engaged

* Volney, Chronologie d'Hérodote, Œuvres Complètes, vol. v., pp. 28-30. Apul., Asin. Aur., ibid. lib. vi. Iamblich. in Vitâ Pythagor.

† Diogen. Laert., in Pythag. S. Clement. Alex., Stromat., lib. i.

in the study of magic;* hence we may infer that it became the custom, and continued to be so, to call by the name of Zoroaster not only the head men who professed the worship of the Mazdeiesnans, but also those who excelled in the occult sciences of the Magi.

One or other of these origins we must assign to the Zoroaster of Proconnesus named by Pliny,† who lived before the time of Xerxes, and to that other Zoroaster who, according to Xanthus the Lydian,‡ lived six centuries before the expedition of Xerxes against the Greeks. It may be as well to observe, that the date mentioned by Xanthus coincides exactly with an Eastern tradition, which places Zoroaster thirteen hundred years after the Deluge.§

Her of Pamphylia was killed in battle; after twelve days he rose again, and related what the gods had told him during his stay in the infernal regions.‖ The Greeks laughed at the story, and believed it to have been invented by Plato.¶ But my own opinion is, that in this case, as in that of the Atlantis, Plato only recorded old traditions, which were but little known by the generality of the Greeks, and sought to reconcile them with his own ideas. St. Clement of Alexandria is another who relates the resurrection of the Pamphylian, and asserts that he was the same as Zoroaster.** It is an acknowledged fact, that doctrines very similar to those of Zoroaster were the foundation upon which his accounts were built; but without seeking in the name of his father

* Antiq. Babyl., lib. iii. † Plin. Hist. Nat., lib. xxx., c. i.
‡ Diogen. Laert., in Proœmio.
§ D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient., article "Zerdust."
‖ Plato, De Republic., lib. x.
¶ Macrob., in Somn. Scipion., lib. i., c. i., ii.
** S. Clement. Alexandr., Stromat., lib. v. See § 11.

Armenus for a very slight indication* of the time during which he lived, I can only attribute the choice of the name Zoroaster to the hope that it would prove a talisman, and aid the reception of his revelations. The prophet's biography contains nothing so startling as a descent into the abode of the dead, hence we cannot confound Her with the true Zoroaster.

SECTION III.

THE ZOROASTER WHO WAS A CONTEMPORARY OF SEMIRAMIS WAS NOT THE FOUNDER OF MAGIANISM.

JASON landed with the Argonauts in the plain of Circe, in a country the princes of which were Sons of the Sun, and the inhabitants of which worshipped the sun as their god. Far from the town, corpses without number were found hanging from trees. The people of Colchis consider it an abominable crime to burn the bodies of men; they are not allowed to cover them with soil.† These circumstances furnish an instance of a belief and a custom which are directly opposed to the notions of all known nations, with the exception of the people of Tibet.‡ The custom and belief are consecrated

* History of the Names of Men, Nations, and Places, &c., §§ 58, 67.

† Apollon., Argonaut., lib. iii. The poet adds, that it was not forbidden to bury women; the Parsees of Hindustan make no such distinction now, nor is it mentioned in their sacred books.

‡ S. Turner. Embassy to Tibet, &c., vol. i., pp. 296, 297. In some of the native tribes of North America, corpses are similarly exposed to the winds, and not interred; but this is done with a view of hastening on the time when the people who are entrusted with that office shall be able to separate the bones from the flesh; the bones are then preserved

by the law which Ormuzd the Sun-God gave to his people. If that law was in operation on the banks of the Phasis in heroic times, we are justified in looking for its founder in remoter and more ancient periods.

Ninias took up arms intending to dispute the right to the throne with his mother Semiramis, and was seconded in his efforts by the Zoroaster upon whom the queen had conferred the honour of vice-royalty in Nineveh. Cephalion the historian, whose writings are lost, asserted that Zoroaster had fallen in that war; Moses of Chorene notices the mistake made by Cephalion, for according to his account, the victory was obtained by Ninias and Zoroaster, and Semiramis did not survive her defeat.* If we believe the account given in the Abridgment of Berosus,† Ninias, towards the conclusion of his reign, conquered Zoroaster, and then put him to death for having dared to revolt against him.

Cephalion,‡ Moses of Chorene, and Samuel Aniensis,§ give to Zoroaster the title of "the Magian."‖ When we speak of the prophet of Islamism, should we call him the Imaum

as family memorials. According to the law of Zoroaster, such an operation would be an unparalleled crime: the Parsee leaves the bones to be stripped by the birds of prey and wild beasts; when they are dry and bleached, the keeper of the Dakhme buries them in a confused heap, in a common grave.

* Moses Chorən., lib. i., c. xvii–xix. Chahan de Cirbied, Recherches Curieuses, &c., pp. 177, 178. Volney, Œuvres complètes, vol. v., pp. 49, 50.

† Antiq. Babyl., lib. v.

‡ Euseb. Pamph., Chronic. Canon., lib. i., c. xv. De Zaravaste Mago, Bactrianorum Rege, &c.

§ Samuel. Aniens., Summ. Temp., part i., c. vii.

‖ Chahan de Cirbied translates as follows: "A prince of Media called Zoroaster or Magus." Volney has it, "The Magian Zerdust, Prince of the Medes."

or the Mollah Mahomet? Had the rebel viceroy been the founder of the religion of the Magi, it is not likely that so important a circumstance would have escaped being recorded in history.

Sixteen years before, when Semiramis was in a state of despair, in consequence of the death of Ara, she requested of the gods that they would restore him to her love. She required this miracle at the hands of Meras, who was a Magian and a High Priest of Armenia. To this demand, Meras opposed the will of the Supreme God Aramaztes, in order to conceal his own powerlessness; and the queen, whether she was deceived or consoled, (it matters but little,) inscribed her thanks on a monument raised to Aramaztes.* It is acknowledged by the historians of Armenia,† that Aramaztes is the same as Ormuzd; hence the worship of Ormuzd must have been common in Armenia: a Magian was High Priest there; he was held in the greatest esteem, as may be inferred from the fact that the queen sought a miracle at his hands, which she certainly would not have asked of any one but the prophet, had the prophet been still alive. The Magian Zoroaster was Prince of the Medes; therefore the Medes, as well as the people of Armenia and Bactria, observed the worship of fire; the origin of this worship belongs, accordingly, to a much earlier period.

* Moses Choren., lib. i., c. xi., xii., xiii. Chahan de Cirbied, Recherches Curieuses, &c., pp. 169–171.

† Chahan de Cirbied, ibid., p. 31.

SECTION IV.

IT WAS NOT THE ZOROASTER WHO FOUGHT WITH NINUS.

JUSTIN, Arnobius, Isidore of Seville, and Paulus Orosius* give the name of Zoroaster to the King of Bactria, who was conquered and killed by Ninus, notwithstanding that he had employed in his defence every possible resource of magic. Annius† is of opinion that the mistake arises from the fact that the name of the father was frequently given to the son, and quotes as his authority one of the writers,‡ the fragments of whose writings he had collected; from this he argues that this Zoroaster cannot be distinguished from the one who fell a victim to the blows of Zameis-Ninias. The opinion of Annius is a plausible one, but the opposite view is none the less so, and, moreover, it is supported by the testimony of the historians. It is quite possible that the king of Bactria and the viceroy of Semiramis both assumed the honour of bearing the name of the head of their religion, even though one or the other did not combine the spiritual with the temporal power. Such things would arise from the same feelings of political pride which actuated Darius the son of Hystaspes, when he called himself in his epitaph an adept in Magianism; and the younger Cyrus, when he counted amongst the reasons which would gain him the throne to the

* Justin. lib. i., c. i. Arnob., lib. i. Isidor. Hispal., lib. viii., c. ix. Paul. Oros., lib. i., c. v.

† See Annius' Commentary on the Abridgment of Berosus, "Reign of Arius."

‡ Xenophon, De Æquivocis.

prejudice of his elder brother, the character he enjoyed of being better versed than his brother in the science of the Magi.

But in the Life of Zoroaster, he is nowhere described as the king of Bactria or as the viceroy of Nineveh, and the extent of country which had been conquered by the fire worshippers in the time of Ninus, does not justify us in identifying either of the two characters just mentioned with the Prophet of the Pure Law.

Volney is of opinion that the three are one and the same individual; he suggests that the prophet Zoroaster, before he was promoted to high office by Semiramis, had aided the king of Bactria in his defence against Ninus.

I cannot admit the suggestion.

1. Suidas* devotes two separate paragraphs to the prophet Zoroaster, and to the Zoroaster who fell when Bactra was besieged by Ninus. This proves that the authorities on which he founded his statements made a distinction between the two characters.

2. If Semiramis had selected for the vice-royalty, one who had fought against Ninus, and if that man was the founder of a new religion, Moses of Chorene would surely have mentioned two such remarkable occurrences.

3. It is the king who was conquered by Ninus, and not his minister, who is called Zoroaster by historians.

It is quite true that Diodorus,† on the authority of Ctesias, calls the same prince Oxuartes; but Volney discovered that this was merely a title, viz., the King of the Oxus; and we have already observed that Ctesias describes people of ele-

* Suidas, article "Zoroastres."

† Diod. Sic., lib. ii., c. vi.

vated rank by their title, more frequently than by their real proper name.*

4. Of what older religion does the religion of Zoroaster still contain traces,† in the names of Ram and Anhouma, which the prophet was unable to eliminate from the Pehlv'i dialect? And I think this question should not have escaped the notice of so keen a critic as Volney. I am of opinion that it bears traces of the religion of Hindustan. What religion does he attack with all the bitterness of a rival creed? The religion of Hindustan. For what spirits does he endeavour in every line and page of his writings and liturgical forms, to inspire his readers with horror? For the Dews, spirits who were worshipped in Hindustan under the name of Divs or Dewatas. As a natural result of the principle, that every one who is a stranger to his religious creed, is also a stranger in all social matters, upon whom was the physician bound to try the effects of his skill before he dared to treat a sick Mazdeiesnan? Upon the worshippers of the Dews,‡ the divinities of Hindustan. What priest does Zoroaster press into his service to bear witness to the superiority of his doctrine? A priest of Hindustan, a celebrated Brahmin in Iran,§ one revered by both princes and people. It is in vain that an Arabian author‖ asserts, that Gustaspes and his father Lohraspes professed the religion of Sabaism; it was not a Chaldean priest who was converted by Zoroaster,

* History of the Names of Men, Nations, and Places, &c., § 60.

† Ibid., § 70.

‡ Vendidad-Sade, Fargard VII. Zend-Avesta, vol. i., 2nd part, pp. 322, 323.

§ Life of Zoroaster, Zend-Avesta, vol. i., 2nd part, pp. 47–52.

‖ Aboul-Djaafar, Hyde, De Rel. Vet. Pers., p. 319. Life of Zoroaster, Zend-Avesta, vol. i., 2nd part, p. 31, see note on the passage.

in the presence of Gustaspes and his court. If a Mussulman wishes to represent a Parsee as subject to the religion of Islam, he would certainly not seek to strengthen his position by the conversion of an Israelite.

Hence, the religion which Zoroaster came to destroy was most certainly that of the Brahmins. Now, in the days of Nineveh and Babylon, the prevailing religion was Sabaism. Placed as he was in constant and intimate contact with the Assyrians, as Volney imagines, Sabaism must have been the form of worship which Zoroaster attacked, and it is from Sabaism also that he must have either borrowed or retained certain portions which are easy of recognition. The testimony, therefore, which he bought, must have been that of a Chaldean priest, and not of a Brahmin.

In the lifetime of the successors of Zoroaster, when the progress of the Pure Law brought its professors into contact with the followers of Sabaism, the priests of the two different modes of worship would, no doubt, contend against each other with all the animosity which we can easily trace in the Abridgment of Berosus. Arnobius* tells us that during the war between Ninus and the king of Bactria, the Chaldean priests and the Magi had each seconded the efforts of one of the two sides, with all they could do either for or against, by means of their acquaintance with the occult sciences. Hence a rivalry between the two religions existed at that time in all its bitterness, and, consequently, the religion which in the days of its founder had known no adversaries but the Brahmins, was an ancient one, and had travelled far from the land where it had first originated.

* Arnob., lib. i.

SECTION V.

THE RELIGION OF THE MAGI WAS FOUNDED AT A MUCH EARLIER DATE.

THAT could not have been a dawning religion which was already professed by powerful chiefs in Bactria, among the Medes, and in Armenia. We possess but very limited information as to the exact time of its foundation; but it may be asked whether we have any respecting the history of Asia prior to the time of Ninus. When Nabonassar destroyed all the historical monuments in Babylon, he only followed the example of Ninus. That head of a new dynasty committed to the flames every record of past ages; his dominion at that period extended over Media, and eventually Bactria was added to his possessions; the archives of both countries, in which the authentic documents regarding the origin of the national religion were deposited, would naturally be far from likely to escape his destructive pride. But the very attempts which Ninus made to destroy them, are a proof of their existence, and justify us in endeavouring to penetrate into the obscurity which he wished to make impenetrable.

In consequence of the gap which the repeated destruction of monuments caused in history, and more especially in consequence of the number of persons who bore the name of Zoroaster, various opinions have, from time to time, prevailed respecting the relative proximity of the Lawgiver of the Mazdeiesnans to our own times. Still, in Asia, in spite of these joint effects of forgetfulness and destruction, a vague idea has ever existed respecting the great antiquity of

Zoroaster; he is remembered in Hindustan,* and the period of his existence is fixed at a very remote date. Nearly all the Persian and Arabian writers are of opinion that he lived before the days of Moses; others say that he lived very long ago, whilst the rest admit that the Zoroasters who are mentioned by historians have only restored the fire-worship which had been instituted by Zoroaster; and others again pretend that the prophet is the same as Abraham.†

I know very well that but little reliance can be placed on the chronology of Joel; he only merits attention when he follows the Hebrew traditions, the only traditions which he seems to have studied carefully. Joel‡ attributes the invention of magic and astronomy (the two sciences in which Zoroaster excelled) to the Maguseans (magi) or Persians, the contemporaries of Nimrod the founder of Babylon.

Gregory of Tours, and the author of the "Recognitions" (attributed to St. Clement of Alexandria), say that Zoroaster was the grandson of Noah. He was the eldest of the sons of Xisuthros, according to the historians of Armenia, and the youngest of the sons of Noah, according to the writers copied by Genebrardus, and according to the Abridgment of Berosus. Any discussion as to dates on this point, would be a work of

* It appears that there were two legislators called Zoroaster, "one of them lived at so remote a period, that no credence can be given to the traditions on the subject; the other lived during the reign of Darius." Maria Graham, Journal of a Residence in India, p. 68 of the French translation.

† D'Herbelot. Bibliothèque Orientale, article "Zerdust." According to other traditions, Abraham was the originator of Sabaism. Every nation which has ever boasted of its descent from Abraham, has also endeavoured to trace to him the origin of its religion.

‡ Joel. Chronographia Compendiaria, printed at the end of Georgii Acropolitæ Magni Logothetæ Historia, Gr.-Lat., Parisiis, folio, 1651, p. 150.

supererogation, inasmuch as the chronologists of the East and the West differ by eight centuries about the period at which they imagine the Deluge to have taken place. If, therefore, Zoroaster was supposed by some writers to have been a contemporary of the Deluge, it was because they thought him very old, and yet could not place him in any remoter period; for the same reason, others have placed him in the reign of Ninus—or, in other words, in the very earliest days of historic time.

But there is nothing in the life of Zoroaster, nothing in his writings, which can possibly lead to the inference that he was a witness or the son of a witness of the Deluge; far from this being the case, his religious cosmogony makes no mention of the cataclysm which is alluded to in many others. The traditions on which his life is founded, and the sacred books of which the Boun-Dehesch is an extract and an irregular compilation, recorded the names and descent in a direct line of twenty-five descendants of Zoroaster, down to the time of Feridoun; thirty-six to the time of Djem-Schid, and forty-three to the time of the first man Kaiomorts.* Not one of these is said to have survived an inundation, the object of which was to destroy the rest of the human race.

Through some notion that long before the time of Ninus there had been historic periods, and because they did not admit the entire destruction of the human race by a deluge (at least at the period usually fixed upon by modern chronology), some writers placed the existence of the founder of Magianism many centuries earlier. Hermippus,† and

* Boun-Dehesch, §§ 32, 33; Zend-Avesta, vol. ii., pp. 416-420.

† Plin., Hist. Natur., lib. xxx., c. i.

Hermodorus* the Platonist, fixed it at 5000 years before the siege of Troy, 6193 years before our era, and Eudoxus at 6000 years before the death of Plato,† or 6348 years before our era. Concerning such dates there can be no argument, still they tend to prove that the antiquity of Zoroaster's appearance upon the earth had not been wholly forgotten.

SECTION VI.

THE ANTIQUITY OF THIS MODE OF WORSHIP DOES NOT AFFECT THE DOCTRINES OF CHRISTIANITY.

BEFORE we proceed to show what credit is due to such records, we must anticipate an objection which may possibly be made, viz., that it is impossible to reconcile such accounts with the chronology of the Bible.

The objection is all the stronger, because when Zoroaster appeared Sabaism was already in a flourishing condition, and the religion of the Brahmins was venerable from its antiquity; that of their predecessors, the worshippers of Vishn'u, belonged to even earlier ages; at a more remote period still, this also had been preceded by the worship of Ixora, which was not, probably, the earliest of all.

My answer is, that it is a great mistake to attach any great religious importance to systems of chronology. Let the sacred books be referred to, well and good; but no revelation on that point has ever been made. There is a difference of several centuries between the Hebrew text of the Bible and the translation of the Septuagint; between the calculation of

* Diogen. Laert., in Procemio. † Plin., Hist. Natur., lib. xxx., c. i.

the Latins and that of the Greeks. Even with the books of Moses, as a starting point, more than sixty different opinions have been formed respecting the creation of the world; not one of these has ever been condemned, neither has any one of them been established by the decisions either of councils or of sovereign pontiffs. Sixty more might exist without their interesting any beyond their originators, who would be glad to gain currency for their assertions by means of the principle of faith, when they cannot support them by undeniable calculations.

Already in Germany, there are men as distinguished for their piety as they are for their learning, who do not hesitate to assert publicly that the truths of religion do not depend upon the accuracy of modern chronology. The words *father* and *son*, amongst Eastern writers, do not necessarily imply the next step in point of descent, but a direct descent only, even though it be after a long interval; hence, in the chapter in the Boun-Dehesch, which contains the genealogy* of Zoroaster, he is called offspring or son of Minotcher, though twelve generations divide him from Minotcher. If we apply this rule, or rather this *fact*, to the Hebrew writings, the learned authors I have quoted have completely met the objections† which have too frequently been combatted with arguments, the refined subtleties of which were scarcely worthy of the cause they were meant to defend.

Whether the world be six thousand‡ or twenty thousand

* Boun-Dehesch, § 33. Zend-Avesta, vol. ii., p. 419.

† Objections founded on the difference between the two genealogies of Jesus Christ, as recorded in St. Matthew, ch. i., and St. Luke, ch. iii.

‡ A celebrated naturalist infers, from geological observations, that the existence of man upon the earth did not commence earlier than six thousand years ago. To discuss his arguments would be out of place

years old matters but little for or against the doctrines of Christianity. I say the same with respect to the period of the universal Deluge recorded by Moses; the farther back it is placed, the more easy does it become for the orthodox writer to suppose that the record of Moses served as a type for the cosmogonic and astronomical allegories of Eastern religions.

Hence, we may proceed with our subject without any fear of offending the tender susceptibilities of our readers, and seek to find in the books which are usually attributed to Zoroaster, a confirmation of the opinions which are still retained concerning the antiquity of his mission.

SECTION VII.

THE RELIGION OF THE MAGI BELONGS TO THE AGE IN WHICH THE VERNAL EQUINOX WAS IN TAURUS; SABAISM, TO THE AGE WHEN THE EQUINOX WAS IN GEMINI.

THE splendid discoveries of Dupuis cannot remain fruitless; every religion which is founded on an astronomical basis must bear the mark of the period when it first appeared.

The precession which in an interval of 2153 years* causes

here. But when we meet with such a general inference, and find that it can only be drawn from particular phenomena, and that it is founded on observations of limited spaces and small depths, we are immediately reminded of the remark made by a learned geographer respecting the central plain of Asia—"None of our geologists have seen that region, which forms a sixth part of the old continent, and yet they dare to theorize about the earth." Malte-Brun, Précis de la Géographie Universelle, vol. iii., p. 416.

* Modern astronomers reckon the precession at 50″ 9‴ 3‴″ every year,

the equinoctial and solstitial points to pass over a twelfth part of the Zodiac, at the expiration of that period changes the constellation in which the sun of the vernal equinox had remained, and which is consequently the characteristic emblem of all astronomical worships. None of these modes of worship could have existed had not the precession caused the exact astronomical position to which they referred. The Sun-Bull was not worshipped in Egypt before the constellation Taurus had characterized the vernal equinox; and it was not until he had yielded his prerogative to Aries that the worship of Ammon or the Sun-Ram was instituted. Did the adoption of either of these emblems immediately succeed the time of the astronomical period? This is a matter of great doubt; still the delay may be confined to very narrow limits.

or about 2153 years for the thirty degrees of the Zodiac. It has been proved by scientific inquiry that, 4600 years before our era, the Egyptians gave the same duration to the annual precession (Volney, Chronologie des Egyptiens, Œuvres complètes, vol. v., pp. 436, 437). By an ingenious calculation, Bailly concludes that at a very remote period, the Hindus fixed the time of the moving of the stars along the ecliptic at 144 *vans* or periods of 180 years, *i. e.*, 25,920 years, or 2160 years for each sign. Sir William Jones adopts Bailly's conjecture, (Recherches Asiatiques, vol. ii., pp. 166, 167,) and is of opinion that in these matters the ancient Hindus were quite as learned as we are. Time, however, has modified the accuracy of that opinion. Le Gentil, (Voyage dans les Mers de L'Inde, 2 vols. 4to, Paris, 1779, vol. i., p. 236), says that the Brahmins reckon the precession at 54″ every year. A Hindu work, quoted by Sir W. Jones, reduces this phenomenon to an oscillation, which at the same annual speed of 54″ traverses 54° from west to east in 7200 years, and 54° from east to west, (Recherches Asiatiques, vol. ii., pp. 313, 314). The Hebrews, who were probably disciples of the Syrians and Chaldeans, reckoned the precession at 2100 years for every sign of the Zodiac; this is the calculation adopted by Rabbi Moses Maimonides (Constitutiones de fundamentis legis, c. iii., § 9, 4to, Amstelodami, 1638, p. 32).

Some ignorant nations, it is true, may have borrowed from more enlightened people fragments of a worship the object of which had ceased to rule in the heavens; the Greeks allowed the worship of Jupiter-Taurus to be introduced into their country; that of the Twins also, the sovereign gods (ἄναχτες), together with other remnants of ancient mythologies which had long been free from any reference to the aspect of the heavenly bodies. But such mistakes as these could not have been committed by priests who were also astronomers, as the founders of the ancient religions were; not one of them would have imagined that the worship of the Bull was the foundation of a new religion when the sun of the vernal equinox shone in the constellation of the Ram. We have already proved, that Sabaism and the worship of Oannes* were intimately connected; Dupuis had done the same† with great care before our time; and if we admit the authenticity of the Abridgment of Berosus, the similarity which exists there between the apotheosis of Noah and the theogony of Berosus, such as Eusebius gives it to us, will prove it still more conclusively.

The deities worshipped in Sabaism, Oannes, Dagon, and Derketo or Atergatis, represented under these various names the union of the solstitial constellations, Virgo‡ and Pisces;

* See Note A, in Appendix, § 5.

† Dupuis. Origine de tous les Cultes, vol. i., (8vo,) thirteenth and following pages.

‡ Bailly, in his "Histoire de l'Astronomie Ancienne," mentions several monuments which seem to allude to the period when Virgo characterised the summer solstice, and amongst others the Hindu Zodiac, which was engraved in the "Transactions Philosophiques" for 1772. The Zodiac of Esneh places the summer solstice similarly in the sign of Virgo. Respecting the union of Virgo and Pisces in the same emblem, see Note C, in the Appendix, the third Avatâra of Vishn'u.

and Adramelech and Ana-melech, who were worshipped in Syria, seem to correspond with Gemini, the sign of the vernal equinox.*

Hence, Sabaism must be assigned to the age of Gemini. Carried along by the retrograde movement of the precession, the vernal equinox leaves the constellation which presided at the birth of Sabaism. In order to understand the change which was caused on the earth by that which took place in the heavens, let us inquire into an age nearer our own times.

When the equinoctial sun emerged from the constellation Taurus, the worship peculiar to that sign was too permanently established in the temples of Egypt† to allow of its destruction; but the astronomer priests of Thebes gradually persuaded the docile Egyptians to worship the sun in the sign of Aries‡ at the same time, under the name of Ammon. Is it not fair to suppose that twenty-one centuries before, the sign which had become the chief sign of the heavenly host, had also been admitted into the temples and legends of the Hindus, sometimes under the form of a bull, sometimes under the name of the celestial cow, which yields all good things in abundance; whilst Sabaism represented the Sun-Bull under the hideous form of Moloch, to be worshipped by the Syrians and Phœnicians.

The Sun-Bull extended his empire to the North of Asia,

* See Note C, in the Appendix, tenth Avâtara.

† The solar Bull was worshipped in Heliopolis, Memphis, and Hermunthis. Macrob., Saturn., lib. i., c. xxi.

‡ W. Drummond (in the Œdipus Judaicus, pp. 367-378,) states, that it was allowed by the Rabbins that the institution of the Passover on the tenth day of the month Nisan, and the ceremony of eating the Paschal lamb, were connected with the entrance of the sun into Aries, an entrance which the Egyptians began to commemorate on the same day.

and to this form of worship the religion of Zoroaster belonged. Having proceeded miraculously from the heavenly bull,* Kaïomorts, so says Zoroaster, no less miraculously produced a tree from which a man and a woman† were afterwards created. From the first pair were born children, who were carried away by Ormuzd to be brought up, and *who remained upon the earth.*‡ These we shall look upon as the representatives of the human race, who were born in the age of Taurus, thinking ourselves justified in abandoning the wonderful creatures which preceded them, to the allegories of cosmogony.

Five generations separate the pure Djem-Schid, (the first among men who consulted Ormuzd, and introduced his law upon the earth,)§ from the men who were placed on the earth by Ormuzd, and who were no less successful than the descendants of Ncah Xisuthros‖ in multiplying their race. Djem-Schid made his reign illustrious by the erection of Dad-Gâhs (holy places), in which the sacred fire was burnt, upon Mount Kharesem.¶ These expressions seem to me to mean, that in Iran Djem-Schid was the first to restore the emblem of the Sun-worship, according to the change which for a century and a half the precession had caused in the heavens; and that he first offered to the worship of his subjects, under the figure of Mithras, the equinoctial Sun triumphing over the heavenly bull.

* "After the death of the Bull, the only one of his kind given (donné "unique), Kaïomorts fell, *i. e.*, came out of his right arm (from his right "fore leg)." Boun-Dehesch, § 4. Zend-Avesta, vol. ii., pp. 355, 356.

† Boun-Dehesch, § 15. Zend-Avesta, vol. ii., pp. 376, 377.

‡ Ibid., pp. 379, 380.

§ Vendidad Sade, Fargard II. Zend-Avesta, vol. i., part ii., p. 271.

‖ Boun-Dehesch, § 15. Zend-Avesta, vol. ii., pp. 376, 377. See Note A, in Appendix, § 3.

¶ Boun-Dehesch, § 17. Zend-Avesta, vol. ii., p. 383.

Zoroaster, after undergoing frightful* trials, was eventually initiated in the most secret mysteries of the worship of Mithras, and during a sojourn of more than ten years among the mountains, he was taught all the secrets of cosmogony which the celebrated cave of Mithras contained.† He was the thirty-sixth in descent from Djem-Schid, and represented himself as one sent from heaven to restore the religious law which had been brought upon the earth by his revered ancestor. The law and the doctrines which it enjoins differ from it in a few essential points, but he does not lead us into error when he assigns the same origin to the two religions. It is at the birth and mysterious death of the heavenly bull, *i. e.*, after the revolution of the first year in which this constellation marked the vernal equinox, that the Boun-Dehesch places the beginning of the world, or, in other words, the beginning of the new age.

It cannot be denied, that a very strong objection might be taken to our assertion, from the Boun-Dehesch itself; for we read there that the equinoxes occur in the signs of Aries and Libra, and the six thousand of God began when the sun entered into the sign Aries.‡

My answer is, that the Boun-Dehesch is not an original work; that it is a translation of and an extract from the books of the prophet;§ moreover, that it is a mutilated extract, disfigured by a number of breaks in the narrative, and evidently revised at many different periods. Sometimes Gus-

* Life of Zoroaster, § 6. Zend-Avesta, vol. i., part ii., p. 24.

† Ibid., pp. 28, 29. On the cave of Mithras, see Eubulus, quoted by Porphyry, De Nympharum antro.

‡ Boun-Dehesch, §§ 2, 5, and 34. Zend-Avesta, vol. ii., pp. 349-357, 420, 421.

§ Anquetil du Perron, Zend-Avesta, vol. ii., pp. 337-340.

taspes is spoken of as a then reigning prince, and sometimes as a character in history the remembrance of whom has lasted through many centuries, and the last paragraph contains the dates of the conquest of Alexander, the reign of the Sassanidæ and the invasion of the Arabs.

The subject and the form of the work admitted of such interpolations, and made many others inevitable; it is, in point of fact, an abridged encyclopædia, which contains everything that a Mazdeiesnan ought to believe, and all that he need know.

Similarly the Oupnek'hat places the six months during which the sun is travelling northwards between the sign of Capricorn and that of Gemini, and the six months during which he travels southwards between Cancer and Sagittarius (Brahmen LXXI.). And yet that work, which is more than two thousand years, and probably two thousand three hundred years older than our era, as Anquetil has proved in his Latin translation, is only an extract from the Vedas, older books still; for extracts are rarely made from religious books until long lapse of time has caused obscurity and doubt in doctrinal matters. The astronomical position there mentioned, did not certainly exist at the time of the publication of the Vedas. The Hindu, like the Parsee abridger, thought he must deviate from the original on a question of fact, in order to conform with the actual state of things.

It is not difficult, in the Boun-Dehesch, to distinguish what really belongs to Zoroaster from what does not; "The Law says," "It is said in the Law," these and such like expressions nearly always show that the compilers are either quoting or abridging the writings of the prophet. But to

them only must we attribute the dates which lead the reader on to the conquest of Persia by the Mussulmans, and more especially the account of the equinoctial points; an account which is consistent with the period at which the first compiler may have written the extract, and which was intended, like all other interpolations, to convey the usual information which they needed to the Mazdeiesnans. The fixing of this period is the less important, because we find in the same paragraph the Heavenly Bull placed at the beginning of three out of the six thousand of God, *i. e.*, of one of the seasons during which the sun is traversing the upper signs.* The expressions of the Boun-Dehesch might even be understood to mean that Taurus was the characteristic sign of the summer solstice. There is hardly any need of so glaring an inaccuracy to convince us when we read the Boun-Dehesch, that its compilers, or at any rate the last of them, copied the doctrines without an idea that they contained astronomical truths. From this point of view, we may look upon the Boun-Dehesch in the same light as the Abridgment of Berosus; in many respects the same obscurity and the same confusion exist in both, as the natural result of a like ignorance of the mystic meaning of the original writers.

On the other hand, the passages which allude to the Heavenly Bull as the principle of all creation and the renewal of the world, undoubtedly belong to Zoroaster; the system of mythology is visible in the other books of which the Zend-Avesta consists.

Berosus, like Sanchoniathon and Abydenus, and probably like all the old Eastern writers, began his ancient history

* Boun-Dehesch, § 34. Zend-Avesta, vol. ii., p. 420.

with a cosmogony. He related first of all, and detailed at length, the appearance of Oannes and that of the God-Fish,* who represented the successive years of the cycle and their division into seasons. At the end of ten generations and a number of centuries, which could only have belonged to an astronomical period,† he places the universal Deluge. In the old cosmogonies, each particular age of the world ended, in allegorical language, with the dissolution of the universe, and began with its renewal. Thus the same emblem was given to the great year as to the solar year, in which nature seems to die at the close of autumn, and to be born again as the sun rises towards the vernal equinox. The deluge of Berosus marks the close of one age; if it be the age to which Sabaism belongs, and if Magianism belong to the next age, Berosus, or rather the Chaldean annals, which he has only copied, have rightly used the sacred language; identifying the rival form of worship with the person of its founder, they have supposed him to be a son of Xisuthros, that father of the human race, that Mover of the Universe, the Sun, the Life of the World, who represents both the preceding age and Sabaism, which arose during that age. The age of Gemini gave birth to that of Taurus; in this sense Magianism was said to be the offspring of Sabaism, just as Zerovan or Zoroaster was said to be the son of Noa-Xisuthros, a treacherous and rebellious son, who richly deserved the curse of a father, against whom he had dared to rebel.

The order of nature seems to be reversed. Driven out of heaven by the giants, the gods desert the skies, and during their flight assume the form of various animals. Bacchus

* Euseb., Chron. Canon., lib. i., c. i., ii. † 432,000 years.

exchanges the human form for that of a goat, and Jupiter takes that of a ram.* In this account of the Greeks, I fancy we can trace a remnant (though much disfigured) of the allegorical account, by which better-instructed priests meant to depict the catastrophe which was said to have brought the age of Taurus to a close, and changed the aspect of the heavens, at the time when the Sun of the higher signs began to shine in the constellation of the Ram, and when the Child-Sun, which in the winter solstice seems, like the year, to be born again, left Aquarius for the celestial Goat, the constellation Capricorn.

This instance leads us to infer with confidence that, in older allegories, a great catastrophe indicated the dissolution of the universe, at the time of the age of the Gemini. Naturally this would be caused by an inundation, since the winter solstice, the period when the year was renewed, fell for the first time in the constellation of Aquarius.† Here again, therefore, the account of Berosus is perfectly accurate. We will not trouble ourselves now to discuss the meaning of the seventy-eight years spent in building the ark,‡ which probably contained an allusion to the relative position of the sacred vessel, with respect to the constellation which was about to characterise the equinox. It will be sufficient to connect the deluge of Berosus with the forty-seventh century before our era, at which time the constellation Gemini ceased to be characteristic of the vernal equinox,§ and when the

* Ovid., Metamorph., lib. v., v. 319, 331.

† Dupuis. Origine de tous les Cultes (8vo edition), vol. v., 521st and following pages.

‡ See Note A, in Appendix, § 3. In Genesis, Noah is a hundred years in building the ark.

§ Bailly. Histoire de l'Astronomie Ancienne, p. 74.

first day of the age of the Sun-Bull marked the renewal of the universe.

I imagine this period to have been the starting point of the annals of several nations, which seem to fix the beginning of the world somewhat more than sixty centuries before the times in which we live. But in consequence of a vague notion that at the end of a certain number of centuries a new age must have succeeded to that of Taurus, and because the gaps which occurred in the historical records prevented an arrival at any accurate calculation of those forty-seven centuries by means of uninterrupted annals, it is possible that some historians have diminished the number of years; nearly all of them have made the date of the Deluge a later one, and then they have spoken of antediluvian periods, not knowing that those very remote dates must have belonged to the age of Gemini.

Calculations founded on the Book of Genesis vary respecting the date of the Deluge; some make it twenty-three, some twenty-seven centuries before our era. Armenian historians place it as far back as thirty-one centuries. Philo the Phœnician, quoted by Stephen of Byzantium,* states that Babylon was founded by Belus, two thousand years before the reign of Semiramis; and according to Megasthenes,† Belus had laid the foundations of the city when the waters which had covered the earth had retired within their usual limits. This would fix the date of the Deluge as having occurred during the forty-first century before Christ; older writers would, no doubt, better enable us to ascertain the correct date. But the last quotation gives rise to two interesting observations; first, led into error by the probably intentional

* Lexicon de Urbibus, see article "Babylon."

mistake of Berosus, and by the loss of historical documents which Ninus and Nabonassar had respectively destroyed, Greek historians believed that Ninus was the son of Belus. Somewhat better informed, Abydenus* and the writers of Armenia introduced five reigns between the two kings; a Phœnician writer places twenty centuries between them; this affords a striking example of the progressive advance of what may be termed a narrowing of chronology, when once time has made great inroads into the history of the most ancient periods. It is precisely the same system which has brought down the date of the allegorical deluge, by which the age of Gemini was closed, so near to our own times.

Secondly. Belus who founded Babylon after the Deluge is the same who, according to the historians of Armenia, was deified and worshipped by many nations under the name of Baal, Ormuzd, Aramaztes,† &c.; but it is always, as in the case of Noa-Xisuthros, as the Sun-God, the Life of the World, the universal deity of Sabaism, that is, of the religion which owes its birth to the age of Gemini.

SECTION VIII.

THE BIRTH OF ZOROASTER MAY BE STATED TO HAVE OCCURRED ABOUT THE YEAR 3547 BEFORE OUR ERA.

ZOROASTER is the thirty-sixth in descent from Djem-Schid;‡ he belongs to the forty-first generation from the commence-

* Chahan de Cirbied. Recherches Curieuses, &c., pp. 31, 34. Abyden., apud Euseb., Chronic. Canon., lib. i., c. ii.

† Chahan de Cirbied, Recherches Curieuses, &c., pp. 30, 31. Beros. et Polyhist., apud Euseb., Chronic. Canon., lib. i., c. ii.

‡ On the Genealogy of Zoroaster, see Zend-Avesta, vol. ii., pp. 416-420.

ment of the age of Taurus; if we count twenty-eight years for every generation, forty-one will make a sum total of 1148 years.

In the 388th year before our era, the vernal equinox was situated in the first degree of the constellation Aries, about to emerge from it and to enter into Pisces; 4306 years before that, it was similarly on the point of leaving the constellation Gemini and entering that of Taurus; now if we add 4306 years to 388 we shall have 4694 years, and if from this total we deduct 1148 years, the duration of forty-one generations, we shall arrive at the probable period of Zoroaster's birth—the year B. C. 3546.

A fact which is recorded by Arabian writers adds to the probable accuracy of our reasoning.

An oracle, which was attributed to Zoroaster, announced that after a lapse of three hundred years the empire would experience a great revolution, which would not affect religious matters, and that, at the expiration of a thousand years, the religion and the empire would both be destroyed. This prophecy induced Ardeschir the son of Babek, who reigned from the year 230 to the year 242 of our era, to shorten the chronology of the past by about three centuries, in order to prevent the sad effects which the approach of a disaster would cause upon the minds of men, when it was only some two hundred years distant.*

From what year did Ardeschir date the commencement of his calculation?

Darius the son of Hystaspes reigned from the year 521 B. C. to the year 486. Now, to attribute to the last

* Indicateur et moniteur de Massoudi, extracted by M. Sylvestre de Sacy, Manuscrits Orientaux, vol. viii., p. 161.

Zoroaster, who was a contemporary of this prince, an oracle which was so unfavourable to the new dynasty, is not only to run counter to all probability, but is also to fail signally in solving the difficulty. An interval of nearly three centuries does not correspond with *about* 200 *years*. The alarm of Ardeschir would have been most premature.

A colony of Persians who took refuge in China in 598, took thither with their creed and their worship the record of an era which cannot have been their own, but must surely have belonged to their forefathers, and which goes as far back as the year 558 B. C.* This was the period at which the Persians adopted the religion of the Magi.† Now if 558 be added to 242, we have 800; so that they were two centuries removed from the fatal revolution of the thousand years, in the last year of the reign of Ardeschir, and 212 years, or *about* 200 *years*, when he ascended the throne. Hence the calculation of the son of Babek began in the first year of the era which was adopted by the Persians when they established themselves in China. So far he was right; but he founded his calculation on a wrong basis, for the Persian monarch dated the commencement of his religion from the commencement of the religious era which had been adopted in his own country; hence, we find that men, far from wishing to claim greater antiquity for their origin, are always manifesting a tendency to narrow the limits of chronology, and to consider their own ignorance of past ages as the boundary line of their duration.

This oracle, which was so little understood, and, moreover, which could scarcely have escaped the notice of the historians

* Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, vol. xvi., p. 245.

† Volney, Œuvres complètes, vol. v., pp. 74, 75.

of Greece, if it had dated from the reign of Darius or that of Cyrus, we must accordingly restore to its real author, the first Zoroaster.

The birth of the prophet was a remarkable event amongst his followers, the occurrence of which must have been characterized by some great sign. When it took place, there only remained about a thousand years* of the age Taurus, that is, of the age to which the religion of Djem-Schid belonged, and also the one which Zoroaster introduced as a renewal of it. The oracle seizes upon this circumstance, and announces that in a thousand years the equinoctial sun will assume a new emblem, and that the rule of Taurus and his religion will have passed away.

The period of time after which the empire would undergo a revolution, which, however, would not affect religion, was fixed at 300 years. Accordingly, there still remained 700 out of the 1000, that is, the third of 2100, or the number of years which, according to the Hebrews,† and no doubt also according to other Eastern nations, the precession takes to traverse one of the twelve constellations of the Zodiac. The months of the civil year were divided by Zoroaster into three periods of ten days each, over the first of which a genius of the sun presided; as the thirty degrees of the Zodiac make up a month of the great year, they might similarly be divided into thirds; astronomy itself required the practice of such a system of subdivision, inasmuch as whilst traversing the thirty degrees of each constellation, the equinoctial point always corresponds with some new

* The equinoctial point was on the point of merging from Taurus about 2540 B. C.

† See § 7, note, p. 383.

aspect; it might even have been called a small subdivision when fixed at every ten degrees. Whether, then, Zoroaster imagined (like the Hebrews,) that this precession of thirty degrees took place in 2100 years, or whether for the sake of round numbers he overlooked a few years, as he had done in the earlier part of his prophecies, this second part is alike easily explained. The prophet only said that after 300 years the empire or rule of the Heavenly Bull would change its position, for it would enter into its third decade of days, during which the equinoctial sun would shine in the midst of new stars, without changing its constellation and emblem, without changing the form of its religious worship.

When thus explained, the oracle of Zoroaster dates from about 3540 to 3550 years before our era; an approximate calculation of the generations of which the genealogy of the prophet consists leads us to the very same conclusion; it can hardly be believed that such a coincidence is merely the result of chance.

Anquetil extracted from some Parsee work a so-called historical* and chronological reckoning, according to which the Persian era would go as far back as 3507 years B. C. In that reckoning, however, the greater portion of the persons spoken of in the genealogy of Zoroaster is omitted; the son of Porochaspes, the prophet himself is not named in it; the only Zoroaster mentioned is the one who was contemporary with Darius the son of Hystaspes. From these peculiarities, which seem to belong to another era, known of and admitted by the Persians, an era which is two thousand years earlier,† I am inclined to believe that the first is a

* Zend-Avesta, vol. ii., pp. 420-422. See note 4.

† Bailly. Histoire de l'Astronomie Ancienne, p. 353.

purely religious era, and that its commencement in the year 3507 is the time when the pure law began to be taught. The dawn of a new existence had commenced for the Mazdeiesnans, it must have been signalized by the opening of a new era; thus the conversion of the Persians to the religion of Zoroaster furnished them with a date for their new era, viz., 558 B. C.

If we adopt this suggestion, it may then be laid down that Zoroaster began his religious mission in the year 3507; he was then forty years old according to the tradition of the Parsees,* hence he must have been born in 3547; this again is another coincidence with the reckoning founded upon the probable duration of the generations.

SECTION IX.

ZOROASTER WAS NOT BORN EITHER IN THE COUNTRY OF ARAN OR AZERBIJAN, NOR DID HE BEGIN TO TEACH HIS LAW THERE.

In the midst of what nation did Zoroaster first appear?

In a nation, no doubt, where the people spoke Zend, the sacred language of the Parsees, the same in which the sacred books of their prophet were written.

We will not stop here to refute an opinion, according to which Zend is only supposed to be a jargon of their own, recently invented by the Parsees. Zend bears every appearance of having been an ancient language; we can trace it in the roots of the principal words in the Pehlv'i and Persian

* Life of Zoroaster, Zend-Avesta, vol. i., 2nd part, p. 60, note 3.

languages; and it is in a dialect of Zend that M. de Saint Martin found the key to the interpretation of the inscription at Persepolis which he so cleverly deciphered.*

• Did there ever exist a Zend people?

A learned Parsee told Sir W. Jones that Zend was the name given to the peculiar style of writing, and that Avesta was the name of the sacred language.† His statement may have been true, but it may also have been made simply to hide his own ignorance. Besides, it bears upon it marks of undoubted suspicion, for the learned Parsee professed doctrines opposed to those of Zoroaster,‡ although he entertained for these latter the greatest veneration.

According to Anquetil, Zend means *living*.§ A people may have adopted this name either because they considered themselves to be before all others the *gathering* of living beings, or because they attached to the word life, as we often do ourselves, the notion of energetic, indefatigable, invincible power.

Amongst the various tribes of Kurds, there is one to which, in the latter half of the last century, Persia was indebted for the brave and prudent Kerim-Khan; its name is Zend.‖ May not its dialect have borne some analogy to the sacred language of the Parsees? For an answer to this question, we must depend upon the accounts of travellers. If they decide in the affirmative, a tribe settled in a sequestered

* Journal Asiatique, vol. ii., pp. 65–90.

† On the Persians. Asiatic Researches (French translation, 2 vols., 4to., Paris, 1805), vol. ii., p. 83.

‡ Ibid., vol. ii., p. 101.

§ Zend-Avesta, "living word;" Zend-Avesta, vol. ii., pp. 423, 424.

‖ Olivier. Voyage dans l'Empire Othoman, l'Egypte et la Perse, vol. iii., 284 and following pages (4to edition).

district amidst the mountains of Kurdistan, would be the sole heir to a name which was to be made illustrious by so many religious and so many political conquests. How many nations trace their descent from the Sclavonic people? How many living languages are derived from their idiom? And yet the narrow province of Sclavonia is the only one which has retained the name of a nation, which by force of arms spread its empire and its language from the heart of Russia to the confines of Italy.

What was Zoroaster's native country?

According to Anquetil, Zoroaster was born at Ourmiah (Urmi), a town in Azerbijan.*

According to the Boun-Dehesch, he was born at Hedcenesch,† in Iran-Vedj, or the pure Iran,‡ a region where cold prevails for ten months, and warm weather for two months only.§

It was in Iran-Vedj, or Eeriene-Vêedjo, or Irman, or Ariema, that Zoroaster began to preach the pure law.‖

Anquetil and Saint Martin are both of opinion that Iran-Vedj is the same as Aran, that portion of Armenia which is watered by the Kour (Cyrus) and the Araxes, or even that it may be the whole of Eastern Armenia, bounded on the north by Georgia, and on the east by the Caspian Sea.¶

Here we are transported far away from Azerbijan, and

* Life of Zoroaster. Zend-Avesta, vol. i., 2nd part, p. 5.

† Boun-Dehesch, § 33. Zend-Avesta, vol. ii., p. 419.

‡ Ibid., § 20. Ibid., vol. ii., p. 393.

§ Vendidad Sade. Fargard I. Zend-Avesta, vol. i., 2nd part, pp. 264, 265.

‖ Boun-Dehesch, § 33. Zend-Avesta, vol. ii., p. 419.

¶ Anquetil, Zend-Avesta, vol. i., 2nd part, p. 264, see note. Saint Martin, Mémoire sur l'Arménie, vol. i., pp. 270–272. In all geographical discussions, see map at the end of this volume.

yet it is quite sure that Zoroaster began his mission in his own country, and in the midst of his own family: one of his first disciples was Mediomah,* the son of his father's brother.

The region of Iran, of which Iran-Vedj formed a part, has, from time to time, varied in its extent; the power of the Medes and the removal of Iranian populations have frequently caused a change in its boundaries. Identified with the Persian Empire, it may have included both Aran and Armenia; but the Armenians have always been distinguished by the name and origin which they claim from the Ari or Arik'h,† tribes of Iran or Airan. Hence it is not likely that in remote periods, the portion of their country which was the furthest removed from Azerbijan should have borne a name which was exclusively claimed for the possessions of the Iranian people.

The junction of two rivers such as the Kour and the Araxes in the eastern part of Armenia, is a physical phenomenon which the least attentive of geographers could not have forgotten. In the geographical details mentioned in the Zend-Avesta, one river only is spoken of as flowing through Iran-Vedj; this is the Daredje, the river on the banks of which Zoroaster was born.‡

In the temperate climate of Azerbijan, the inhabitants are far from having a ten month's winter§ to endure; even the climate is not so rigorous as that.

* Boun-Dehesch, § 33. Zend-Avesta, vol. ii., p. 419.

† Saint Martin. Mémoire sur l'Arménie, vol. i., p. 275.

‡ Boun-Dehesch, § 24. Zend-Avesta, vol. ii., p. 598.

§ Malte-Brun. Précis de la Géographie Universelle, vol. iii., pp. 231-233.

" The longest day in summer is equal to the two shortest " days in winter; the longest night in winter is equal to the " two shortest nights in summer."* This passage, which is extracted from the Boun-Dehesch, shows us that the country in which the sacred book was composed was situated in latitude 49° 20′, and more to the north by ten or twelve degrees than Aran and Azerbijan. We cannot, therefore, believe that Zoroaster was born in one of these countries, and that the preaching of his doctrines commenced in the other.

Zoroaster crosses a river, and travels along the coast of some sea. Prepossessed with the idea that the prophet came from the region of Azerbijan, Anquetil at once recognizes the Araxes and the Caspian Sea; but as the voyage was prior to the revelations of Ormuzd, and consequently to the mission of Zoroaster, it proves nothing at all respecting the real position of the true Iran-Vedj.

Zoroaster goes in search of solitude into the very heart of the mountains, and for ten years he receives there the instructions of Ormuzd. When that period has elapsed, his mission commences; the sound of the sacred drum† accompanies his voice, which announces a new religion to Iran-Vedj, or at least the restoration of the religion of Djem-Schid.

According to the life of the prophet,‡ he was shortly after at the court of Gustaspes, the king of Bactria. Now, if the province of Iran-Vedj had been the same as Aran, would not some event have been recorded which was connected with

* Boun-Dehesch, § 25. Zend-Avesta, vol. ii., p. 400.

† Life of Zoroaster. Zend-Avesta, vol. i., 2nd part, p. 29.

‡ Ibid.

the march of Zoroaster over such an interval of distance as that which separates Aran from Bactria? would not tradition, at any rate, have retained something concerning so long a voyage?

The books of the Parsees contain several pieces of geographical information which ought to help us to clear up the point; but the alterations which names have, from time to time, undergone as they have been transmitted from one language to another, the absolute change of form they have assumed, the confusion which arises either because the same name is given to several different places, or because it is not known by the translators whether a name which has a meaning belongs to a place, or whether it is used in the text as a substantive, an adjective, or an adverb;* the frequent interpolations which are made by different authors in the sacred books; and lastly, the unconnected and mutilated condition of the extracts of which most of them consist; such are the obstacles which have to be overcome before any advantage can be derived from any such obscure documents.

Hence we shall be especially careful in our endeavour to throw some light upon the question before us, by an examination of two remarkable passages in the Boun-Dehesch and the Vendidad Sade.

In the Boun-Dehesch the earth is divided into seven parts or Keschvars. The Kheschvar Khounnerets is in the midst of the six others; Zoroaster is its chief;† from the first it was

* Miane, the name of several places, signifies "in the midst of," as well. Roum, a chief; A-roum, without chief, is also the name of a place.

† Boun-Dehesch, §§ 11, 30. Zend-Avesta, vol. ii., pp. 363, 409.

destined by Ormuzd to be the birthplace of the pure law,* and the spot where its empire should prevail, and also the place from which the law was to spread and to influence the whole earth.† It is so vast, that the sun only lights the one or the other half alternately in the revolution of a day and a night.‡ This is more an Eastern exaggeration than an absurdity, if, as I am inclined to believe, the Keschvar of which Zoroaster was chief must have included all the countries which were inhabited by nations who spoke the language of the prophet. We may judge of its possible extent from what it retained at a more recent period. Jules Klaproth admits the identity of the Alani with the Ases or Osseti; hence the language of the one, like that of the others, was probably a dialect of the Pehlv'i, which is itself derived from the Zend. Whilst Ammianus Marcellinus makes a careful distinction between the Huns and the Alani, he speaks of the latter as being the parent stock of the Persian people; and in a space of 25° latitude and 40° longitude, including as it does immense deserts which are situated on the left bank of the Tanaïs, and in the neighbourhood of the country of the Amazons, as far as the centre of India and the banks of the Ganges,§ he shows us that the Alani were spread over both Europe and Asia, and had settlements in the midst of other peoples and nations.

* Boun-Dehesch, § 11. Zend-Avesta, vol. ii., p. 364.

† Ibid., § 30. Ibid., p. 409. ‡ Ibid., § 5. Ibid., p. 358.

§ "Hoc transito (Tanaï), in immensum extentas solitudines Alani inhabitant. Parte alia, prope Amazonum sedes, Alani sunt, orienti acclives, diffusi per populos; has gentes et amplas, Asiaticos vergentes in tractus, quas dilatari ad usque Gangem accepi, fluvium intersecantem terras Indorum mareque inundantem Australe; ibi partiti, per utramque mundi plagam, Alani, licet dirempti spatiis longis, per pagos, ut nomades, vagantur immensos." (Ammian. Marcell., lib. xxxi.)

The Boun-Dehesch goes on to enumerate some of the regions which are included in the Khounnerets;* they were probably the regions into which the pure law had penetrated, *i. e.*, Iran-Vedj; Saok Avesta, in Turkistan; the region of Kenkat;† Khorassan, possibly Seistan;‡ Peschianse (now called Penjshehr) in Cabul, and the country of Cashmere *which is in Hindustan.* If the region of Iran-Vedj correspond with that of Aran, how is it that the sacred book omits to mention the circumstance that in the Keschvar assigned to Zoroaster, the most sacred portion of it is separated from the surrounding countries by the whole of the Caspian Sea?

Sixteen regions are said by the Vendidad Sade to have been created pure from the beginning, similar to the Behescht§ or heavenly abode, the inheritance of all true observers of the law of Ormuzd. The first is Ariema, or Iran-Vedj; with a view of ascertaining the names of the others we shall, in the absence of more accurate information, avail ourselves of the conjectures of Anquetil, and of such hints as are furnished by the Pehlv'i comments on the Vendidad Sade.

First region, Iran-Vedj; second, Soghdô, Alsogd, or Sogdiana; third, the sacred and powerful Mooré, Marw or Marou, which was celebrated for the scientific acquirements

* Boun-Dehesch, § 30. Zend-Avesta, vol. ii., pp. 408-411.

† Kanguedes, which is mentioned in the Boun-Dehesch, seems to correspond with Kenkat and Kangites; it is a region which is situated in the neighbourhood of the town of Kenkat, in the maps given in the Voyages of Rubruquis and Plancarpin, in the collection of Bergeron.

‡ Verdjemguerd (in the Khounnerets) corresponds with Miane-Pares (in the centre of Pares). (Zend-Avesta, vol. ii., p. 411.) From another passage, Pares would seem to belong to Seistan.

§ Vendidad Sade. Fargard I. Zend-Avesta, vol. i., 2nd part, pp. 260-270.

of many of its inhabitants, and which Oulough-Beig places in about 37° 40′ latitude; Marvchaïdjan, in Khorassan. Fourth, the pure Bâkhdi, Bactria and its capital Bactra or Balkh, the principal town in the kingdom of Gustaspes, and in the empire of the pure law. The fifth, Nesâe in Khorassan, between Moore and Bâkhdi, towards latitude 38° 40′, and longitude 61° 50′.* The sixth, Haroïou, a very populous region, now Herat. The seventh, Véekeréantè; the Pehlv'i commentary turns this name into Kawoul, Cabul, and Cabulistan. The eighth is Ourouan, which, according to Anquetil, is the same as Lahore. The ninth, Khneante, according to the same author, represents Kandahar, or at least some region situated alike on the confines of Persia and those of Hindustan. The tenth, Herekheete, the Arachotis of the ancients; Aroukhage. The eleventh, Heetomeânte, probably Hedmend, a town in Seistan, on the banks of the river Hitomand or Hedmend. The twelfth, Rhâgan, with the three sources. The Zare, a lake or river, also called Kansé in Seistan,† received into its waters the three sources from which the three posthumous sons of Zoroaster are to proceed, when the time shall have arrived for the grand consummation of ages; Rhâgan, or Regan, or Renghéiao, with the three drops,‡ was situated on its banks. Could it be the Regan, the ruins of which Pottinger§ crossed at the southern extremity of Seistan? At a short distance from there, water is found brackish in character, and the water of the Kanse was bitter to the taste.

* Voyage de Tavernier (5 vols. 12mo, Rouen, 1713), vol. i., p. 496.

† Zend-Avesta, vol. i., 2nd part, pp. 45, 46, 269, and vol. ii., p. 272.

‡ Iest de Raschné-Rast, XI Cardé, Zend-Avesta, vol. ii., p. 242.

§ Pottinger, Voyage in Beloochistan and Sinde (French translation, 2 vols. 8vo, Paris, 1818), vol. i., p. 250.

It is easy to imagine that sand may almost entirely have filled up that small lake, since the river Boudou, on which it depended for its supply of water, is now dried up. But Regan means the sands;* such a name as this may have belonged to several places. Now Anquetil states as a fact, that the river which supplied the Zare-Kanse came from Kouhistan.† This is not the course of the river Boudou, hence, I am inclined to think, that to the west of Kouhistan, in latitude about 30° 30′, and longitude 58° 50′, on the banks of a river the water of which is supplied by the brooks which run down from the mountains of Serbed, there may have existed a town called Regan, which would correspond with the twelfth region, and with the place assigned to the beneficent Arimaspians.‡ The thirteenth country is Tchekhre, Tcherk, or Tchark, in Khorassan (probably the same place as Tchardeh). The fourteenth is Verene. This name, which merely signifies a city surrounded by walls, indicates here, according to the Pehlv'i commentary, Padosch-Kharguer, situated in the direction of Kerman. Anquetil denies the correctness of the situation, on the ground that there is a mountain called Padosch-Kharguer in Tabaristan; and yet nothing is more common than to find the same name given to places which are situated at a great distance from each other. The fifteenth region is Hapte-Heândo, that is, which rules over the seven Indies; and it seems to me to be the land of Cashmere, already comprised in the Keschvar Khounnerets of which Zoroaster is the chief. The sixteenth, and

* Pottinger, Voyage in Beloochistan and Sinde (French translation, 2 vols. 8vo, Paris, 1818), vol. i., p. 250.

† Zend-Avesta, vol. ii., p. 707, article "Kanse."

‡ See § 11.

last, is the great Rengheiaô; it is occupied by horsemen who recognise no chief, and is exposed to the severest attacks of winter; it was created by the cruel Ahriman. In this Anquetil recognizes that portion of Assyria which borders on Mesopotamia; but that region is by no means exposed to such rigorous cold, and Assyria was never a country inhabited by an independent people. "Amongst the villages "of Salem there is one called A-Roum, says the Boun- "Dehesch, Section 15;" "A-Roum, that is, without chief,"* adds the translator. So rare an occurrence in Asia justifies us in identifying this Salem with the great Rengheiaô. But in the region of Kerman there is still a town called Salem, and another called Regan. Between these we will place the sixteenth region, and this with all the greater likelihood of its being correct, as the name Rengheiaô has already been given to the twelfth region, Regan, in Seistan or Kouhistan; and as the snows which cover the mountains of Kerman for a great portion of the year make the winds which blow over the plains† icy cold and most unhealthy, the diseases which arise in consequence of such a state of things make these disastrous effects conspicuous, and lead to the idea that they are produced in this region by the principle of evil.

Let us imagine now that the first of these sixteen regions, Iran-Vedj, is Aran; the author of the Vendidad Sade must, in his enumeration, have passed over a space of 15° of longitude from the west of the Caspian Sea to Sogdiana, without the slightest remark either as to so abrupt a transition, or as to the crossing of a sea and a vast extent of country, and all this in order to trace an undulating line, the fifteen intervals

* Zend-Avesta, vol. ii., p. 281, note 3.

† Pottinger, Voyage in Beloochistan, &c., vol. i., p. 413.

of which were all of them situated beyond the fiftieth degree of longitude, and at a great distance from Aran, and do not comprise from North to South more than eleven degrees of latitude. It seems almost impossible to assign any reasonable motive for so strange a proceeding.

The difficulty is only increased if the enumeration be not a purely geographical one, and if it include the regions which first adopted the religion of Zoroaster; several circumstances strengthen my conjecture.

1. Over many of the countries which, according to the Boun-Dehesch, are situated in the Keschvar Khounnerets, the sons or the disciples of Zoroaster* were chiefs; it may safely be concluded that the promise of Ormuzd was already being accomplished there, and that they had submitted to the religious empire of the prophet. In point of fact, this is expressed by the name of one of these countries: Saok-Avesta, means the place where people declare or publish the Avesta, the sacred word. Now, the majority of the sixteen regions created pure and like unto Behescht, are found in the territory which, according to the Boun-Dehesch, must have been contained by the boundaries of the Khounnerets.

2. If, starting from Sogdiana, we pass through the countries which were created pure, the intervals which separate them are not greater than would be consistent with the progress and efforts of a religious lawgiver, seconded by the influence of a warrior king, whose master or tool he was sure to be.

3. The Ariema, or Iran-Vedj, the pre-eminently pure country, the special object of Ormuzd's pleasure, the place

* Boun-Dehesch, § 30. Zend-Avesta, vol. ii., pp. 409, 410.

where his glory shines the brightest, is the first of the sixteen regions created like the heavenly abodes. It is not indebted for this honour to its climate, which for ten months in the year is visited by intense cold. If it is named the first, it is because it was the first to embrace the pure law. Hence the order in which the other regions are enumerated indicate the order in which they successively witnessed the increase of the followers of Zoroaster in the blessed land. This is the only way in which the matter can be reasonably explained; a traveller would not follow such an order in his march, nor would a geographer in his descriptions; neither would it apply to the history of the conquests of a prince who was only a warrior.

4. In each of these sixteen regions, the author of evil, Ahriman, had created some plague;* ten months of cold in Iran-Vedj; death amongst the flocks in Sogdiana; destructive insects in Bactria; diseases peculiar to women in Padosch-Kharguer, and a deadly cold in Regan which belongs to Kerman. Thus Zoroaster took advantage of the *two principles* to explain how it was that countries to which he had announced and promised all the blessings of Ormuzd did not enjoy unalloyed prosperity. With the same tact he attributed to Ahriman's devices a disaster which reduced the inhabitants of Herat to extreme poverty. But the plagues which were peculiar to the other regions seem to me to denote the contradictions which he could not entirely get rid of, and yet which it was to his advantage to attribute to the influence of the enemy of Ormuzd. At Marv-Chaïdjan, Ahriman caused evil reports to be spread, probably respecting the prophet.

* Vendidad Sade, Fargard I. Zend-Avesta, vol. i., 2nd part, pp. 263-270.

The inhabitants of Nesah, and those of Regan in Seistan, raised proud and rebellious questionings regarding his doctrine. In Cabul, the worship by the Parsees of the female Dews remained sufficiently long the rival of the worship of Ormuzd to excite against that country the anger of a prince who was a zealous follower of Zoroaster. Corruption of the heart in Lahore was opposed to the victory of the pure law. Still more deeply steeped in guilt, the people of Kandahar gave themselves up to vices which are an outrage to human nature. The custom of burying the dead was retained in Aroukhage, although the prophet had forbidden it; that of burning them was retained amongst the learned astronomers of Tchark.* The contented and pious inhabitants of Hedmend were given to magic arts, which means that the priests of the old religion still strove with the apostle of the new religion in the working of miracles, sometimes even with success.† And lastly, in Hapte-Heandô the precocious and ardent temperament of the women became a serious obstacle to the establishment of the cold and unbending code of morals enacted by the austere legislator.

* To this day the Kalmüks, who are followers of Lamaism, burn the dead bodies of their princes and priests, and bury all the rest. (Pallas, Voyage dans plusieurs parties de l'Empire de Russie, &c., vol. ii., pp. 243-245.)

† This passage may contain an allusion, of an Eastern character, to the name of the eleventh region, Heeto-Meante: Iâto-Meânte, in Zend, means a magician. (Zend-Avesta, vol. ii., p. 466.)

SECTION X.

IRAN PURE, IRAN-VEDJ OR ARIEMA, THE NATIVE COUNTRY OF ZOROASTER, AND THE SCENE OF HIS FIRST LABOURS, MUST BE PLACED HIGHER THAN SOGDIANA AND TURKISTAN, TOWARDS LATITUDE 49°.

LET us now abandon our search for Iran-Vedj on the west of the Caspian Sea, and, from its characteristics, let us reflect upon what Solinus says, viz., that a great number of Caucasian tribes, situated on the north of Bactria and Sogdiana, in the region where Persia and Scythia join up to each other, acknowledged the same religious law as the Parthians,* and the same law as the Persians, ever since their existence had been known and could be traced.

Guided by the minutely detailed accounts of the Boun-Dehesch, let us turn our attention to the tract of country above Sogdiana and above Turkistan, to the latitude in which the longest winter night is equal to the two shortest nights in summer. There, not far from the position assigned to the Arimaspi, whose lawgiver Zoroaster was,† there flows the river Jar-Iakhchi. This river seems to correspond with the Daredje,‡ which watered Iran-Vedj, and which, probably,

* Hoc est colliminium in quo limes Persicae Scythis jungitur. Densissima hic populorum frequentia, cum Parthis legem placiti ab exordio moris, incorrupta custodit disciplina. Solin., c. lii.

† Diod. Sic., lib. i., part ii., c. xxxv.

‡ Mount Zarededj, which is also called Manesch, is one of three great mountains mentioned in the Boun-Dehesch, § 12 (Zend-Avesta, vol. ii., pp. 364, 365). It was famous for the birth of Minotcher, one of the most illustrious ancestors of Zoroaster, and was probably situated in the

retained its name as it joined the Sara-Sou, in whose waters, at the present day, the Jar-Iakhchi loses its name when it flows into that river. It may be observed here, that the Boun-Dehesch, which describes the mouth of almost every stream named in it, makes no mention of that of the Daredjc, probably because the Sara-Sou loses itself at the foot of the mountains, in some lake of little or no importance.

In the next region to the Jar-Iakhchi,* the climate is sufficiently severe to produce ten out of twelve months of intense cold. Coming down from this point, and before we arrive at Sogdiana, we approach the country of Kenkat, Turkistan, and, consequently, Saok-Avesta, the name of which meant the publication of the pure law, and was, no doubt, given to the country by Zoroaster, in memory of his early successes.

If the objection be raised that the region of Iran could not have extended to so high a latitude, I merely answer that it has been shown how varied are its limits; a Persian geographer fixed them far away to the north, as far as Kaptchak;† the latitude differs little from that of the banks of the Jar-Iakhchi and the Sara-Sou. Here, however, there arises a fresh difficulty, and it is a serious one. Iran-Vedj, says the Boun-Dehesch,‡ is in the direction of Atoun-Padegan; and Anquetil asserts that Atoun-Padegan is the same as Azerbijan. Now, in the direction of Azerbijan, does

country of the prophet. In that case the name Zarededj might be the same as Daredje. Many of the rivers mentioned in the Zend-Avesta take the name of the mountains from which they spring.

* Malte-Brun. Précis de la Géographie Universelle, vol. iii., pp. 313, 416.

† Recherches Asiatiques, vol. ii., p. 73. Note by M. Langlès.

‡ Zend-Avesta, vol. ii., p. 410.

there exist a region in which the severe cold weather lasts for ten months out of the twelve, and in which the longest night in winter is equal to the two shortest nights in summer? No, there does not. And more than this, in the same chapter, a few lines above,* the same expression, "in the direction of," seems to mean an easterly direction, and presupposes a great intervening distance between the situations mentioned; but wherever we choose to place Zoroaster, or the compilers of the Boun-Dehesch, we shall never be able to discover the region of Aran to the east of Azerbijan. The difficulty vanishes altogether, if we restore to Iran-Vedj the position we fixed upon; if it be only admitted, as we do admit, that the passage quoted is an interpolation, the author of which lived sufficiently to the west, and sufficiently far from Iran-Vedj and Azerbijan, to escape the charge of being either too vague or too absurdly† wrong in his description.

Whatever importance may be attached to the objection, whether we come down from the banks of the Jar-Iakhchi or only from the heights of Sogdiana, it will be easily seen—

1. That the position of the sixteen regions which were created pure, and which were most of them either bordering upon or a part of Hindustan, explains why the remembrance of Zoroaster was perpetuated in India, why the prophet had to contend with those who sided with the Brahmins, and why Zend, his own language and that of his followers, was scarcely anything more than a dialect of Sanskrit.‡

2. As Zoroaster included the land of Cashmere in the Khounnerets, in that part of the world of which Ormuzd

* Zend-Avesta, vol. ii., p. 410, note 6. † See § 11.

‡ Sir W. Jones. Discourses on the Persians, Asiatic Researches, vol. ii., p. 81.

proclaimed him chief, we were justified in pointing out that rich country as the object of the predatory incursions of the Arimaspi,* the horsemen of Ariema, the followers of Zoroaster.

3. The onward march of the prophet and his followers bears a striking similarity to that of several northern people who, abandoning their severe climate and barren mountains, travel southwards in search of more fertile lands and warmer skies.

4. As it came down southwards, the Zend language produced the Pehlv'i, and the language which was spoken at the court of the kings of Persia, and in which the inscriptions of Persepolis are written. Did it leave any traces of its passage? I think so. The Persian language still exists in the regions which were formerly Sogdiana and Bactria; Jules Klaproth has proved that it was the mother tongue of the people of Bokhara.†

5. In the regions which were created pure, the preaching of Zoroaster and the influence of his protector Gustaspes, seem to have been circumscribed. The pure law only penetrated to the very borders of Hindustan. There is nothing to show that in the time of Zoroaster it crossed the boundaries of the region of Kerman on the south-west. Into the province of Farsistan it was not admitted until the reign of Cyrus. The kingdom of Gustaspes was bounded by the mountain called Goand,‡ on the western extremity of Khorassan; beyond this limit the prophet does not seem to have come. We cannot infer from any portion of his books that

* History of the Names of Men, Nations, &c., § 79.

† Journal Asiatique, vol. ii., pp. 154–165.

‡ Boun-Dehesch, § 12. Zend-Avesta, vol. ii., p 567.

he ever entered Irak-Adjemi or Azerbijan, although his birthplace was fixed there. If he mentions Mazenderan, it is only to curse the Dews who sojourn there,* and to state that this country was inhabited by a different race from that of the inhabitants of Iran, and one which, on the contrary, was allied by community of origin with the people of Touran and Tchin.† Mazenderan had been given up to the enemies of the prophet; it was in the province of Mazenderan that the defeat of Gustaspes by the king of Touran and Tchin filled the region of Iran with such consternation, that the sad remembrance of it was long retained in the name Mad-no-friad, which was given to the scene of the catastrophe.‡

The fanaticism of Zoroaster, it is said, caused the war between the king of Bactria and Ardjaspes the king of Touran and Tchin. It would be more correct to say that the former, who paid tribute to the latter, tried to take advantage of the enthusiasm which had been excited by a new religion, and to turn it to account in throwing off the yoke of a foreign power. Ardjaspes saw through his intention, and commanded him to abjure the doctrines of a sectarian. Far from obeying the command, Gustaspes made his prophet order him to cease paying any further tribute to the king of Touran and Tchin,§ and hence a political war broke out under the standards and auspices of religion.

It is generally admitted, that Touran and Iran were possessions which belonged to the Scythians and Medes;‖ their

* Zend-Avesta, vol. i., 2nd part, pp. 155, 227.

† Boun-Dehesch, § 15. Zend-Avesta, vol. ii., pp. 380, 381.

‡ Mad-no-friad, "cries have come into this place" (Boun-Dehesch, § 12. Zend-Avesta, vol. ii., p. 367).

§ Life of Zoroaster, Zend-Avesta, vol. i., 2nd part, pp. 56, 57.

‖ Malte-Brun. Précis de la Géographie Universelle, vol. iii., p. 264.

respective boundaries must have been constantly changing, as victory or defeat alternated between these two warlike nations. The kingdom of Touran, which was probably so named after the river Toura, the course of which was wholly within the kingdom, extended from longitude 60° to 80°, and latitude 50° to 60°,* consequently it bordered upon, and on the north adjoined, the possessions which are assigned to the region of Iran-Vedj; hence we find in the Liturgy of Zoroaster, violent imprecations against the Dews of the north; the king of Touran is represented under the figure of a serpent, the emblem of the north and of cold, in all forms of worship which are founded on the worship of Taurus, the equinoctial sign.

The dominions of Ardjaspes extended to the west of the Caspian Sea,† and no doubt to the south, since he is found fighting successfully in Mazenderan. If the province of Iran-Vedj had been situated in the northern portion of Armenia, it would have been separated from the rest of the Khounnerets not only by the Caspian Sea, but also by the possessions of a hostile king, a worshipper of the Dews. The sacred books would surely have alluded frequently to so remarkable a circumstance.

The law of Zoroaster having strengthened its position throughout the whole line of country which from north to south joins Sogdiana to Kerman, its rule formed a barrier between Hindustan and Western Asia. That may have been the period when the Hindus abandoned those regions with the positive orders of their lawgiver never to return there.‡

* Atlas du Précis de la Géographie Universelle, Map of the Mongolian empire.

† Life of Zoroaster, Zend-Avesta, vol. i., 2nd part, p. 55.

‡ Sir W. Jones. On the Persians, &c., Asiatic Researches, vol. ii., p. 92.

SECTION XI.

ON THE DIRECTION WHICH THE PROPAGATION OF THE LAW OF ZOROASTER TOOK AT A LATER PERIOD.

It appears that Zoroaster died before the war between Iran and Touran had been brought to a conclusion. He left it to the sword of the successors of Gustaspes, and to the eloquence of his own followers, to spread the rule of the pure law beyond the barriers which had hitherto hindered its progress.

We shall not endeavour to trace, in all the obscurity of its history, the progress of that religious conquest which at a period far distant from our own times, had extended itself on the west as far as the mouth of the Phasis, and which, like the dominion of the Persians, had only met with a check on the confines of Europe. Such points, however, in its history as we can fix upon with certainty will furnish us with materials for a few observations.

1. Like most of the invasions of the northern peoples, the religious conquest of Zoroaster sought but little to extend itself in the bitter climate and among the savage people where its birth had been first witnessed. A great number of Caucasian tribes, whose dialects were derived from the Pehlv'i language, retained Shamanism or Lamaism, a form of belief on which the religion was founded which was carried into Scandinavia by the Ases. It was at that time, no doubt, that the distinction arose in virtue of which the followers of Zoroaster were called by their neighbours Chorsarii or the Aryan horsemen, a name which was especially suited to those who pretended to be above all others *the horsemen of Ariema*

The Scythians who had remained faithful to their old creed either received from their neighbours or retained with a sort of religious pride the surname of Saka or Saga, which we derive from the title of their principal divinity, a surname, the application of which is extended by the abridger of Berosus to the borders of Sarmatia; thus agreeing with what Ammianus Marcellinus had said respecting the settlement of the Alani on the left bank of the Tanaïs.

2. The rapid progress of the religion of Zoroaster makes it easy to understand how the Arimaspi were enabled to drive the Issedones back from latitude 48° to the borders of India Serica, and also how it came about that the Arimaspi, who had been surnamed Beneficent by Cyrus, because they had assisted the Persians to whom they were bound by the sacred ties of religion, had settled on the west of Arachosia, at the extremity of the desert of Kerman.

3. Supposing there had been a Zend people, it would be no matter of surprise if their name had only been known amidst the mountains of Kurdistan; the disciples of Zoroaster seem to have prided themselves on the change of their own national name for that of the Arimaspi or horsemen of Ariema.*

4. The events which brought a Zend tribe into Kurdistan may, in Armenia, have either prepared or actually given the signal for the introduction of the pure law, which would not be long before it crossed the mountains of Gordjaïk'h or Armenian Kurdistan. The Magian priest who spread the doctrines of Zoroaster amongst the tribes of Haïk'h, may, like many others, have assumed the name of the founder of Magianism. If we imagine that he did so, and suppose his native country

* History of the Names of Men, Nations, &c., § 79.

to have been Ourmiah, it is at once explained why accounts of a much more recent date than the lifetime of the first Zoroaster led Anquetil into error, and why, with respect to the birthplace of the prophet, they seem to establish a contradiction between that learned author's works and the sacred writings which he alone has enabled us to peruse.

The districts of Zarehovan and Zarovant, which are situated on the east of Gordjaïk'h* and Zarehavan, a town in the province of Ararad,† bear names which remind us of the one given by the Armenians to the prophet of Bactria; this similarity may perhaps contribute some little to the probability of our conjecture.

Near the small district of Zarovant there is another called the district of Her.‡ This is only one more proof that the same name may belong to a place and to a man. Her, a Pamphylian by birth, cannot have been forgotten, the son of an Armenian or of Armenus, who was also called Zoroaster;§ but if we remember the fact of such an individual's existence, we are led to make an observation of some importance. A Magian priest, so sufficiently well known and held in such good repute that he could assume with impunity the name of Zoroaster, was a Pamphylian by birth; hence the pure law must have penetrated into the west, far away from the place of its birth. It is only natural to believe that this must have taken place through the instrumentality of the Armenian prophets of Magianism. In the estimation of these

* Saint-Martin. Mémoire sur l'Arménie, vol. i., p. 178; vol. ii., p. 363.

† Ibid., vol. i., p. 125. ‡ Ibid., vol. i., p. 178; vol. ii., p. 363.

§ "Plato meminit Heri Armenii, genere Pamphylii qui est Zoroaster. Conscripsit Zoroaster Armeni filius," &c. (S. Clement. Alex. Stromat., lib. v.)

men (and especially if the first Magian priest known in Armenia was born in Ourmiah) Azerbijan would be a holy land. At such a distance from Bactria, and with the very slight information which had been retained respecting Northern Asia, it would surely be no great inaccuracy to say, when speaking to a Pamphylian or a Carian, that the province of Iran-Vedj was in the direction (to the east) of Azerbijan. Hence, the interpolation in the Boun-Dehesch, of which we have fully explained the value, was probably inserted by one of the Magian priests of some of those countries.

SECTION XII.

RECAPITULATION.

I THINK we have ascertained now, with tolerable certainty, the following points:—

I. That the Zoroasters who were contemporaries of Darius, Semiramis, and Ninus, were Pontiffs or chief men in the priesthood, connected with a religion which was already in a flourishing condition, and which had been founded by an older priest, whose name they assumed.

II. That neither Azerbijan nor Iran can correspond with the Iran-Vedj of the Zend-Avesta.

My own conjectures are—

First. That from the number of generations which intervene between Zoroaster and Djem-Schid, and from the religious era of the Persians, and from the oracle which was but imperfectly understood by Ardeschir the son of Babek, we

must fix the date of the birth of the founder of Magianism about the year 3547 before our era.

Second. That from the passage in the Boun-Dehesch respecting the duration of the longest night and the longest day in the year—from the climate attributed to the province of Iran-Vedj—and from the position of the Arimaspi, to whom Zoroaster gave laws—and from the line of march which the prophet seems to have followed in his preaching of the pure law, Zoroaster was born and began to preach on the banks of the Jar-Iakhchi and the Sara-Sou, or at least in a country which was situated in an equally high latitude.

In the course of the argument, I think we were able to take for granted as facts, that—

1. Many Zoroasters have lived from time to time, and that the similarity in their names has been the cause of confusion.

2. That the religion of Zoroaster is connected with Taurus, the sign of the vernal equinox, and that as in his doctrines and cosmogony Zoroaster manifests no trace of the worship of Aries, it is older than that form of worship, and than the astronomical age in which it prevailed.

3. That we are justified in giving full credence to the books of the Zend-Avesta, and to the traditions of the Parsees.

I am fully aware that with respect to this last point many doubts have been entertained. I venture, however, to believe that a careful and impartial examination will lead all readers of the Zend-Avesta to the conclusion, that the books which it contains are a compilation of authentic fragments, a defective compilation no doubt, but still one made in good faith; and that if we divest the traditions of the Parsees of a

slight admixture of the marvellous, there is nothing in them which can affect their genuine historical character; it will be sufficient here, if I observe that I have grounded my own arguments on facts alone, which were universal in their application and referred to positive doctrines such as they would be retained in the memories of men, after serious political and religious convulsions and revolutions.

Whatever may be thought of the results of my inquiry, I hope it may induce men of learning to turn their serious attention to monuments which have been mutilated by men and by the course of time, but which are still rich in useful lessons for us, in the study both of the history and geography of ancient times.*

* M. Rask, a learned Dane, brought home four copies of the Zend-Avesta from Asia; they differ from the copy which Anquetil has translated (Nouvelles Annales des Voyages, vol. xviii., p. 428). I hope the public will soon be in a position to enjoy the fruits of his laborious researches. They may possibly corroborate my suggestions as to the imperfect state of the Boun-Dehesch as Anquetil has published it, and as to the interpolations which have crept into the work.

NOTE C.

THE AVATARAS OF VISHN'U.

THE AVATARAS OF VISHN'U SEEM TO BE ASTRONOMICAL PICTURES. THE SAME CONJECTURE APPLIES TO THE ISIAC TABLE.

THE Avatâras or incarnations of Vishn'u occupy a prominent position in the mythology of the Hindus. The God has already appeared nine times upon the earth; he has to appear once more, when his tenth Avatâra will be the signal for the end of the world and the renewal of all things. This is a characteristic trait in all the religions which have an astronomical origin, and it confirms the general principle laid down by Dupuis in one of the most essential of its practical points.

The pictures of the Avatâras, the order in which they should be placed, and the legends connected with them, vary according to the districts, in the accounts given of them by the priests, and in the representations of them on the walls of the temples; it frequently happens that the religious legends do not explain the figured representation in the slightest degree, or that they explain it so badly that it is at once inferred that the whole thing is a fabrication of recent date, made by men who were no longer acquainted with the original meaning of the emblems. We may conclude from this that the creation of these emblems dates from very early

times, and also that historical and physical phenomena have become incorporated with the original allegory. For example, in the sixth Avatâra there is a reference made to the position of those submarine rocks, which still prove that in past ages the island of Ceylon was joined to the continent of Asia. But in the first instance the allegory seems to have borne an entirely astronomical meaning.

The Chaldeans used to reckon ten antediluvian generations. The duration assigned to them was 43,200 years; and the successive appearance of supernatural beings, who were half men and half fish, teaches us that an allusion is intended to be made to the time at which Pisces and Virgo marked the winter and the summer solstice. The Avatâras of Vishn'u are also ten in number; the last is yet to come, a circumstance which seems to claim greater antiquity for the Hindu myth than for the Chaldean, but which does not prevent their both having had a common origin.

The Kalmük Tartars and the Chinese, who worship Vishn'u under the names of Sakyamuni Fo and Buddha, like the Hindus, adopt a cycle of sixty years; and in order to form this cycle, they employ the number ten,* with a combination of the number twelve, the number of the signs of the Zodiac. It might be thought that the ten Avatâras had originally possessed some analogous meaning, but the names which are given to the sixty years of the Hindu cycle† by no means favour such an interpretation.

Here, then, let us confine ourselves to a discussion of facts. In the work entitled, "Cérémonies et Coutumes Religieuses," and in the sixth volume of the edition published in 1808, we

* History of the Names of Men, Nations, and Places, § 100.

† Abraham Roger. La Porte Ouverte, &c., p. 78.

find two different sets of representations of the Avatâras. I would ask the reader to examine them both alternately,* and we will follow the order adopted by Kircher in his "Chine Illustrée," simply indicating by a figure the place which each Avatâra occupies in the arrangements of other writers.

1st (and 6th) Avatâra. At the top of the picture is the celestial heifer, the giver of all gifts in abundance, which an evil genius is endeavouring to drag away; this is quite sufficient to indicate the vernal equinox in the sign of Taurus. It is well known that in this constellation the upper part only of the animal is seen; hence, as Ovid† observed, it may be supposed to be either male or female. Accordingly, amongst the Greeks, the constellation has sometimes represented Io and sometimes Jupiter Taurus carrying away Europa. But all doubts will disappear if the Hindu picture be compared with that of the Japanese god Toranga,‡ which is a copy of it. There a serpent is seen darting its poisoned sting at the god, who is fighting the evil genius, and over whose head the celestial heifer is placed; it is the same serpent which, in the Mithriac pictures, attacks the Sacred Bull; this is the emblem of the Scorpion. Hence, in this picture, the two opposite signs are represented, a circumstance which occurs also in some of the others.

* Both in this volume and in the work of Abraham Roger, there are many different explanations of each Avatâra.

† Vacca sit an Taurus non est cognoscere promptum,
Pars prior apparet, posteriora latent, &c.
Ovid., Fast., lib. iv., vers. 717, 718.

‡ Cérémonies et Coutumes Religieuses, &c., vol. vii., plate 17. The roof of the temple of Toranga is surmounted by an ornament of four golden bulls.

2nd (and 5th). Mavali governs the earth, and causes the golden age to prevail there; this age represents the period when the sun is traversing the upper signs. Mavali employs the morning star as his minister or adviser. Vishn'u wishing to introduce famine and misery upon the earth, presents himself before him in the guise of a poor Brahmin; he begs for three feet of land, and obtains his request. In order to confirm the gift, Mavali pours water into the hand of the Brahmin. Immediately Vishn'u covers the earth with one foot and the heavens with the other, hurls Mavali down into the abyss, which he measures himself at the same time. Mavali becomes king of the abyss (the sun of the inferior signs), and doorkeeper of heaven. In this, which is evidently an astronomical allegory, I think I can trace the sign Aquarius.

3rd (and 1st). The sign of the Fishes. Vishn'u transforms himself into a fish; the form in which he appears is the same which was assigned to the fish-god Oannes, to Dagon, to Derketo, to Eurynome the daughter of Oceanus, who is sometimes mistaken for Diana;* it differs but slightly from the figure found in an Egyptian planisphere† under the sign of the Fishes, and it reminds us of the shape of Canon, a Japanese deity,‡ the creator of the sun and moon, who is also represented with thirty arms, and seven heads upon his breast (the number of degrees in each sign, and the number of the planets). Before Vishn'u, in the form of a fish, there

* She was worshipped at Phigalia, under the form of a being half woman half fish. Pausanias, Arcad., c. xli.

† See the Atlas de l'Origine de tous les Cultes, by Dupuis, plate 5. N.B. In this sign one fish is frequently represented instead of two.

‡ Cérémonies et Coutumes Religieuses, vol. vii., plate 16.

stand four worshippers, and in the upper part of the picture there is a deity with four heads bearing the feminine name Bhavani; these represent the four seasons of the year.

4th (and 3rd). The earth having fallen into the abyss, Vishn'u transforms himself into a boar, or a wild boar, and at once becomes so large that his head touches the stars. He goes down into the abyss and triumphs over the monster who reigns there, and brings back the earth, which is soon repeopled by Brahma with a new race of men. Here we recognise at once the renewal of the universe, which is brought on in all astronomical religions by the return of the vernal equinox. Dupuis argued that the celestial wild boar, like the serpent and the crocodile, has often signified the sign of the Scorpion. It probably bears that meaning here, first, in the representation of Tiedebaik,* a Japanese deity who is the exact copy of the 4th Avatâra; the vanquished monster (the emblem of the sun in the inferior signs) is surrounded by a serpent; secondly, like the form which in the Egyptian planisphere is placed in the sign of the Scorpion,† he has serpents instead of legs in one of the representations of the Avatâra; thirdly, in the other representation, the globe or circle which Vishn'u bears upon his head (he being in the form of a wild boar), contains the figure of Taurus, the opposite sign to the Scorpion.

5th (and 4th). Vishn'u appears in order to destroy an impious giant who is desolating the earth; he is half man half lion;‡ his breath comes forth like flames. The foregoing

* Cérémonies et Coutumes Religieuses, vol. vii., plate 15.

† Atlas de l'Origine de tous les Cultes, plate 5.

‡ The figure of the lion is badly rendered in the picture, but old legends speak positively of this animal.

remarks will justify us in tracing here the signs of the Lion and Aquarius.

6th (and 7th). This picture is one of the most complete.* Over the two Twin Archers, Vishn'u Ram and his brother, there soars aloft the ape-god Anhouma, whose name at once indicates the sun, and a planet to which astrology assigns a place in the constellation Sagittarius, the planet Jupiter. The giant with whom they are engaged in combat, rules even over the winds, and keeps Death imprisoned in chains; this is an emblem similar to the one of the golden age which was presided over by Mavali. He has ten heads of human shape, the number of which corresponds with the number of Avatâras, and probably originated in the giant's name, Dahsar or Dahazar, *i. e.*, the ten heads. Between the ten heads one more projects, the head of an ass; this is the one which is reached by the arrows of his adversaries, and straightway he falls conquered. In many of the astronomical pictures, the ass takes the place of the constellation Cancer, in which the stars called the Asses are situated, and which begins to set when Sagittarius rises in the horizon.

The signs Virgo and Pisces will naturally form part of an astronomical picture, in which Gemini and Sagittarius are principal figures. The giant with whom Ram fought had run away with the latter's wife, and had kept her for twelve years; and the god passed over from the continent to the island of Lanka, carried thither by the fishes of the sea, who had collected together to form a bridge under his feet.†

7th (and 8th). Vishn'u is born, the offspring of a Brahmin's wife; he is the seventh son: a tyrant puts the six others to

* See History of the Names of Men, Nations, Places, &c., § 70.

† Voyage de François Pyrard (4to, Paris, 1679), 3rd part, p. 119.

death, and seeks him too, to destroy his life. The child escapes by crossing over the waters, under the protection of a huge serpent. He triumphs over the tyrant, goes down into the abyss, rises again and goes up and down throughout the whole of the earth to punish the wicked, and at last he is taken up into heaven. The last particulars of the myth are found in all allegories which refer to the course of the sun. The first remind us of the fables respecting the birth of Horus and the birth of Jupiter, both of them undoubtedly contained in solar mythology. Like the myth of Jupiter's having been fed by the she-goat Amalthea, this Avatâra most probably refers to the sign Capricorn. I suppose it to be so without affirming it.

8th (and 2nd). According to some traditions, the legend of the celestial child, who is born after the massacre of seven of his brethren, escapes miraculously from the fury of his would-be assassin, and at last succeeds in punishing him, is connected with this Avatâra. Another legend relates that Vishn'u became incarnate to drive away from the sea the elephant with the seven trunks and the horse with the seven heads (the emblems of the planetary system), a virgin, a bow, the celestial heifer, &c. After succeeding in his object, he returned to heaven. This, surely, is a solar picture, and all the more so because in the representations of the Avatâra, the sun is shown in the form of a being crowned with the moon, and the four-headed deity (the emblem of the four seasons of the year) is shown there too. And again, a man whose head is surrounded by the sun, rises from the ground at the feet of the Creator God* of the Japanese (the god who is a copy of the 8th Avatâra), and he seems to be striking

* Cérémonies et Coutumes Religieuses, &c., vol. vii., plate 18, fig. 1.

with a goad the tortoise which supports the trunk of the tree on which the deity is sitting. In this Dupuis recognises, as he does in the pictures of Seraphis, Kneph, &c., the sun reaching the constellation Scorpio, the sign of the autumnal equinox.* He grounds his opinion more especially on the circumstance that the trunk of the tree on which the god is sitting, is surrounded by an enormous serpent, and supported by a tortoise, two figures which are frequently substituted for the Scorpion. I venture to differ with him. In the Avatâra the bow rises from the sea, above it is the tortoise or the crocodile, then the tree and the deity, around and above whom the celestial heifer, the horse, &c., are grouped. Can we not trace here the constellation Libra placed over Scorpio and Sagittarius, and drawing them after itself from the sea, as the constellation rises above the horizon?

9th. This Avatâra bears the name of the goddess Bhavani; the surname joined to it expresses the idea of power; the legend conveys an idea of the union of the active and passive energies of nature which constitute and govern the world. This picture reminds us of the form of Puzza, the chief deity of Nature amongst the Chinese;† like Isis, both characters seem to issue from a lotus-flower, and to complete the resemblance, Puzza is sometimes represented with a child near her. These characteristics indicate the constellation Virgo, and the name Bhavani, which we noticed in the Avatâra of the sign Pisces, joined to that of Virgo, gives additional support to our conjecture.

10th. Vishn'u will transform himself first into a peacock,

* Origine de tous les Cultes (8vo edition), vol. iii., 555 and following pages.

† Cérémonies et Coutumes Religieuses, vol. vii., plate 3.

then into a white and winged horse; this Avatâra will introduce the end and the renewal of the universe. In this picture, we see a king leading a winged horse, and behind him two peacocks. Adra-Melech (brilliant and glorious king), Ana-Melech (powerful king), were Syrian divinities, who were both worshipped, sometimes under the form of a peacock, and sometimes under that of a horse or mule.* The people of Sepharvaim joined them together in one form of worship, and burnt children in their honour,† as the Ammonites and the Hebrews used to do before the image Moloch, the God of the Sun-Bull. The Arabs used formerly to represent two peacocks instead of the constellation Gemini. Hence Adra-Melech and Ana-Melech in their twofold character seem to represent the sun in the constellation of the Twins.‡ The meaning of their names authorises us to form the supposition, when we remember the brave Hercules and the glorious Apollo who were placed by the Greeks in the same constellation;§ moreover, the epithet applied to Adra-Melech‖ seems peculiarly suited to the age in which his worship must have commenced. Now, as the two peacocks and the horse, the symbols of the Syrian deities, are found in the picture of the 10th Avatâra, it is only natural that we should suppose them to mean the same thing. The conjecture is not affected by the circumstance that the horse

* Encyclopédie Méthodique, Antiquités, article "Adramelech." Dupuis, Origine de tous les Cultes, vol. iii., p. 743.

† 2 Kings xvii. 31. ‡ Gaffarel, Curiosités inouïes, &c., p. 222.

§ Hygin, lib. ii., c. xxii. Varro, De re Rustică, lib. ii., c. i.

‖ Adra or Adar: Adra Dagon, the glorious fish; Adar, the month of February, the month of the sign Pisces. The Virgin is called Adarah by the Arabs. W. Drummond, the Œdipus Judaicus, pp. 218, 219.

pictured in the Avatâra is a winged horse, like the horse of Sagittarius in the great Zodiac of Denderah; we have already seen in the 6th Avatâra, the union of the two constellations, Sagittarius and Gemini.

From our explanation, if it has not seemed to be over-strained, it would follow that at the period of the invention of the Avatâras of Vishn'u, it was the sign Gemini, the advent of which was to herald the close of the cycle and the renewal of the world, the commencement of a new age. I do not intend to insist upon this hypothesis, I wish only to repeat what Sir W. Jones* affirms, viz., that the division of the Zodiac, and the figures of the twelve signs, have existed in Hindustan from time immemorial.

To sum up what has been said; I think I have explained with some certainty the first, third, and sixth Avatâras, and with sufficient probability the second, fourth, and fifth; the explanation of the seventh is not quite so satisfactory; that of the two last is merely founded upon a plausible analogy. It would be difficult to deny that the first, second, third, fourth, sixth, seventh, and eighth Avatâras are solar pictures; this fact, I think, shows what we should conclude as to the others.

We may now lay down a general principle in support of these particular explanations. Dupuis, in his work on the Origin of all Forms of Religious Worship, may possibly have committed some few errors of detail; but the more his system is studied, the better it will be seen that it is founded upon a good basis. If, then, the gods of antiquity were nearly all the results of astronomy, astronomical emblems

* Asiatic Researches (French translation), vol. ii., 332 and following pages.

must be looked for in the majority of such pictures as represent them to us.

For example, let us take the Isiac table, which has engaged the attention of the most learned men, without its ever having been explained in a satisfactory manner. This beautiful monument of antiquity was taken away from France, but it is exactly reproduced in the learned treatise of Pignorius.* It would interest the reader to compare the plates in that work with the representation of the small Zodiac of Denderah with the fourth, fifth, and sixth plates in the Atlas of the Origin of all Modes of Worship by Dupuis, in which the Egyptian planispheres are figured.

In the first plate of Pignorius we merely notice the figure of the celestial Ram, and that of a man who is preparing to kill a kid, a figure which, in the Egyptian planisphere,† is placed over Sagittarius. But there are more conclusive points still. In the fourth plate, the figures which form the border of the Isiac table are found all together. At the two extremities you may see the hippopotamus and the dog, which are also figured in the centre of the Egyptian planisphere in the Museum at Paris.‡ After the hippopotamus, and before the dog, comes the scorpion, easily recognized in both places, although it bears a man's head. The bull appears three times, in one case in a boat which seems to be carrying him away. In several places the lion may be seen, and the watering-pot in the form of a vase as it is usually represented in Egyptian monuments; and last of all, the head of a kid placed upon an altar, just as it is seen in the

* Laur. Pignorii Mensa Isiaca, &c. (4to, Amstelodami, 1669.)

† Plate 5, in the Atlas de l'Origine de tous les Cultes.

‡ Plate 2, ibid.

small Zodiac of Denderah before the man with one leg, the emblem of the winter solstice and the shortest day in the year. The Ram is represented twice; the second time in a boat which seems to be bringing him to shore; it has two heads, a singular circumstance which is repeated in the case of Sagittarius in the Zodiac of Esneh, and in the two Zodiacs of Denderah.

As I do not pretend to explain the monument, but simply to try to discover its true character, I may be allowed to add, that in the fourth and the fifth plates the Cynocephalus is crowned with a crescent, the emblem of the growing moon; and that in the fourth the figure of the frog is represented three times, which in the planispheres of Hindustan* represents the tail of the dragon or the descending knot; I think that in this case it would be impossible not to recognize astronomical pictures.

The second plate contains something more convincing still. On the right and left, the Bull appears surmounted by the hieroglyphic of eternity; it is white on the right side, whilst on the left, like its supporter, it is half covered by black shadows. Between these two emblems of the sun, in the upper and lower signs, three principal figures attract the observer's attention; under the supporter of the first there is the lion; under the second there is the watering-pot in the form of a vase; under the third, the crocodile, which takes the place of the scorpion, and which, in point of fact, is placed over it in the Egyptian planisphere.†

In the third plate, on the left, a man with one leg is a

* See the Hindu Zodiac figured in the Asiatic Researches, vol. ii., p. 335, of the French translation.

† Atlas de l'Origine de tous les Cultes, plate 6.

conspicuous object; he is of great stature, and holds in his hand the sceptre of Osiris; on the right, opposite to him, is Isis; she is represented with a cat's head, and is crowned with the sign of Cancer; at some distance from her, and as it were at her feet, is a man with one leg, of short stature, and very much shaded.

The foregoing picture combined the equinoctial signs and the solstices during the age when Taurus marked the vernal equinox. In this one, on the contrary, Cancer is in opposition to the winter solstice; consequently it denotes the summer solstice, and belongs to the age of the Ram.

This comparison, and the emblems we have remarked upon in the fourth plate, warrant, I think, our supposing that the Isiac table represented the transition from the equinoctial point as it emerged from Taurus to enter into Aries, about 2540 years before our era;* but we have omitted to mention too great a number of figures to venture upon a decided assertion of opinion. It will be sufficient for our purpose, if we have only opened the way for the more successful conclusions of those who may be tempted to try to arrive at a general and complete explanation of this monument. We are satisfied with having proved, both from the instance of the Isiac table and that of the Avatâras of Vishn'u, the

* According to Jablownski (Miscellan. Berolin., vol. vi., pp. 139-149; vol. vii., pp. 374-406), the Isiac table was framed between the years 138 and 215 of our era, in order to show the Egyptians who were settled in Rome what festivals they ought to keep during the sacred year of their native country. Its three divisions (plates 1, 2, and 3 of Pignorius) correspond with the three seasons, spring, summer, and winter, which used to make up the old Egyptian year. In some of the figures in the plates, Jablownski recognizes Osiris, Isis, Horus, and Anubis. He only examines one of the figures in plate 2, and says nothing respecting the border of the table (plate 4), which was well worthy of his notice.

following principle, which is of the greatest importance in all archæological inquiries, viz., that amongst nations where the genius of art has not been allowed to make any alterations in the creations of religious beliefs, the representations of deities whose origin is derived from astronomy are most frequently astronomical pictures.

END OF THE NOTES.


PTCHAK
KANCUEDEZ?
ARIEMA
ARIMASPI
ISSEDONES
SCYTHIA
SEPTENTRIONALE
ARIMASPI
Astrakhan
Derbend
SHIRVAN
Bud Kou
MEDIAN SEA
SEA OF AZOF
Khiva
Mt Nur Ramhos
Cashgar
Noga
L. Tenghis Palkuti or Balkiach
L. Temkeul
SOGDIANA
Marv chaidjan
Marv el rud
Bactra Balkh
BACTRIA
Teheran
MAZANDERAN
Astrabad
KHORASSAN
Herat
Cashmere
Peschawer
Cabul
CABUL
CASHMERE
Bagdad
Ispahan
KOUHISTAN
KHOURSISTAN
Kandahar
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Padosch Kergher?
Salam?
Argalage
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Shiraz
Kerman
ARIMASPI
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Ruins
PERSIAN GULF
Map
OF
PART OF ASIA
to illustrate the observations made on the probable Countries in which the religion of Zoroaster was first established
by M. G. D.
Longitude East from Gr. Paris

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Zumbi, *d.* ii, 81, see note.

THE END.

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